CNN's Man in Baghdad Answers His Critics

Newsweek

February 11, 1991 ; $2.50



A U.S. Marine Near Khafji

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Newsweek

Heat of Battle



An Iraqi armored personnel carrier left burning in the border town of Khafji

THE WAR
DESERT STORM

The long-distance, high-tech war shifted to a new phase last week, when Iraq attacked the Saudi town of Khafji. It was militarily futile. After fierce fighting, Arab forces backed by U.S. Marines retook the town. But it served Saddam Hussein's political purpose: to remind the world that the coming ground war would be costly and bloody. **Page 16**



A U.S. Marine takes cover



CNN's Arnett in Baghdad

THE WAR
HOME FRONT

As the only Western journalist in Baghdad straight through since the war began, Peter Arnett has given the world rare glimpses from inside Iraq. Last week, in his first print interview, CNN's controversial reporter defended his role. Meanwhile, the debate continued about the effect of uncensored news coverage on the country's morale. **Page 36**

The End of Apartheid?

President F. W. de Klerk startled South Africa last week by moving to topple the last pillars of apartheid. He may have hastened the end of U.S. sanctions against Pretoria. But his announcement enraged the white right—and left the country's black majority in continuing frustration. **International: Page 48**



Antiapartheid demonstrators in Cape Town

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Behind the Lines in the Gulf

Frustrations for a Veteran Correspondent



Tony Clifton is a veteran NEWSWEEK *correspondent who has covered five wars, including Vietnam and Iran-Iraq. He finds the gulf war by far the most frustrating. "I have never had movement so controlled, reporting so restricted," he says. "In Vietnam, you went anywhere nerve or foolishness would take you. In Saudi Arabia, men who have never heard a shot fired in anger dog your footsteps, and unless you break their petty regulations you see nothing."*

Air Raid Shelter Interviews



Melinda Liu, NEWSWEEK*'s Asia editor, is no stranger to dicey situations. She covered the fall of the Marcos regime in the Philippines, the Tiananmen Square massacre and the Afghan war. Now she's in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, taking cover against Scud missile attacks, an experience that can be productive. "The missile alerts have helped me make new contacts," she says. "It's natural to start talking with a general when you're caught in an air-raid shelter with him." And Liu has reacquainted herself with some former sources. "I was pleasantly surprised to discover some old contacts from the Far East among the diplomats here," she cabled.*

Have You Tried the Yellow Pages?



As Clifton and Hackworth have found, correspondents have to be resourceful to get information in the gulf. C. S. Manegold discovered a simple strategy can be the best strategy. "Calls to government officials often end with the advice to call the Ministry of Information, which of course leaves you back where you started," she says. "So, desperate for some information on the spreading oil slick, I turned to the Yellow Pages. Shortly, I was sitting with the fellow who runs the desalination plants, who gave me a very accurate account of the spill's progress."

'It's Their Story'



Col. David H. Hackworth is America's most decorated living war hero. His 25-year career in the Army spanned both the Korean and Vietnam wars. Hackworth's 1989 memoir "About Face" was a best seller. Now, he is covering the gulf war for NEWSWEEK*. Hackworth reflected on the assignment: "I'm a recruit at this reporting game. My biggest frustration is the 'thought police'—press officers, from Dhahran to the units in the field, who seem hellbent for leather on preventing soldiers from being openly interviewed. It's like the Army has something to hide, which doesn't make sense because it's the best field army I've ever seen. I get around these blocks by striking off on my own and talking directly to the Willies, Joes and Janes. It's their story and to hell with the petty regulations."*

Editor's Note

On Friday, Feb. 1, the Israeli government suspended the accreditation of NEWSWEEK*'s Jerusalem bureau chief, Theodore Stanger, because of a photograph of a Patriot missile in the previous week's issue.* NEWSWEEK *acquired the picture from Sygma, the French photo agency. On two separate occasions,* NEWSWEEK *asked for—and received—specific assurances from Sygma that the photo had been cleared by Israeli censors. Sygma still maintains that the photograph received Israeli military clearance. Without such assurances,* NEWSWEEK *would not have published the picture.*

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Newsweek

POLITICS

Shrinking Candidate?

If a politician's waistline is any measure of his presidential ambitions, Tennessee Sen. Al Gore is preparing a bid for the Democratic nomination in '92. When asked by Virginia Gov. Douglas Wilder last week if his 15-pound-slimmer figure meant he was going to run, Gore blushed and declined to answer. But Gore aides say he's definitely "considering" the campaign. "It's his 'Meet the Press' regimen," says a staffer of Gore's daily four-mile jogs. "He has to get skinny to go on camera." Aides say he'll decide in June whether to begin a campaign-feasibility study. Family considerations could keep him out of the race. His young son was injured by a car in 1989, and friends say his wife, Tipper, doesn't want him to run. ■



Gore: Before and after



Lowering an ample profile: The chief of staff

EXCLUSIVE

Sununu in the Woodshed

White House chief of staff John Sununu's ample profile has been considerably reduced in recent weeks, and it's not just because the war in the Persian Gulf has focused attention on other administration officials. NEWSWEEK has learned that President Bush took Sununu to the woodshed late last year over his bungling of the congressional budget negotiations. "[Sununu] got his ass chewed out," says a White House insider.

Bush sources say the president was particularly unhappy over statements by Sununu about the administration's position on capital-gains taxes, which led to a rash of news stories about a presidential flip-flop—always a sore spot with Bush.

Senior administration officials say that First Lady Barbara Bush has also complained about "sloppy" staff work in the West Wing. Mrs. Bush was "furious," the sources say, over the administration's announcement last year that college scholarships earmarked for minorities are unconstitutional. She thought it made Bush appear to be a racist.

"The president doesn't do a lot of yelling and screaming," says a Bush confidant. "But John was reminded in very clear terms who was president and who was not." How did the thin-skinned Sununu react? "Very deferentially." ■

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

Persian Gulf Edition

On the ground the CW is restless: CBS's Dr. Bob Arnot sent home for his Rollarblades. At home the CW is reverent: State of the Union a hit.

PLAYERS		Conventional Wisdom
George Bush	↑	Finally presidential. But where's the beef domestically?
Jim Baker	↓	If you weren't First Friend, linkage gaffe could have sunk you.
Saddam Hussein	↑	Not Hitler, but Stalin. Or the diabolical Joker in "Batman."
Gen. Schwarzkopf	↑	These boots are made for walkin', and they'll walk all over you.
Gen. Kelley	↔	A Central Casting face, but an oatmeal mouth.
Iran	↔	Yo, Saddam, we hate you, but if you ever need a garage . . .

THE SPILL

Struggle: Granted, they have other things to worry about, but the allied effort to clean up the Iraqi oil spill in the Persian Gulf is sort of like trying to bail the Titanic with a thimble. While Saudi Arabian crews have been taking steps to protect desalination plants, actually getting rid of the oil is another story. Their best effort: a Norwegian ship has been skimming crude oil off the water's surface at a rate that would take 700 days—or nearly two years—to finish. ■

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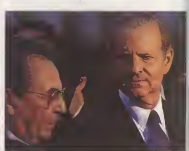
Scud Killer?

NEWSWEEK has learned that the United States is using a new weapon in the hunt for mobile Scud missile launchers in southern Iraq and Kuwait. Defense sources say 50 Army Tactical Missile System (ATACMS) rockets have been sent to the Saudi border. When U.S. radar planes pick up a Scud trajectory, the launcher's coordinates are radioed to ATACMS, which can fire a missile at the Scud site in minutes. ATACMS accuracy is "awesome," says a Defense source.

DIPLOMACY

Self-Polishing Image

White House officials are irritated over what they see as Secretary of State James Baker's efforts to polish his image at their expense. White House sources say after Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh issued their controversial gulf war statement last week, Baker aides tried to deflect attention from the blunder by leaking details of Bush's postwar plan for the Mideast to The Washington Post. White House aides say State took credit for an interagency plan. State sources say Baker was upset by the leak because it exacerbated tensions caused by the gulf gaffe. ■



Glory grab? Bessmertnykh, Baker

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Out of work? James Meredith

FIRINGS

Dumped?

When Sen. Jesse Helms ran for re-election last year against a black Democrat, he hired 1960s civil-rights hero James Meredith. Many considered the move an attempt to curry favor with blacks. Now, Meredith—prone to making controversial statements about black leaders—may have outlived his usefulness. He says he was told he no longer works for Helms, but not by Helms's staff. Helms says Meredith "has departed," but denies he's been fired. ■

VITAL STATISTICS

More Chicken a la King? Ugh!

Soldiers have never *liked* Army food, but frontline GIs in the Persian Gulf are fairly satisfied with the current fare. The only MRE (Meal, Ready to Eat) they hate is chicken à la king. All the meals are loaded with fat and sodium to build strength. But this one, the soldiers say, is too much. Here's why:



SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE



Best seller

STUDENTS

A Disturbing Reading List

Three of the most popular "books" on college campuses are cartoon books. The Chronicle of Higher Education compiled a best-seller list:

(1) *The Authoritative Calvin and Hobbes* by Bill Watterson; **(2)** *All I Really Need to Know I Learned in Kindergarten* by Robert Fulghum; **(3)** *The Plains of Passage* by Jean M. Auel; **(4)** *Foucault's Pendulum* by Umberto Eco; **(5)** *The "Late Night With David Letterman" Book of Top Ten Lists* by Letterman et al.; **(6)** *Weiner Dog Art: The Far Side Collection* by Gary Larson; **(7)** *Where's Waldo* by Martin Handford; **(8)** *The Bonfire of the Vanities* by Tom Wolfe; **(9)** *Misery* by Stephen King; **(10)** *The Civil War* by Geoffrey C. Ward with Ric and Ken Burns. ■

THEATER

The War: Those Feuding Redgraves

Vanessa Redgrave does have a way of letting her politics infringe on her acting career. Recall the anti-Zionist harangue at the 1978 Academy Awards? Now there is an apparent political rift between Vanessa and her more mainstream sister, Lynn, with whom she is appearing in Chekhov's "Three Sisters" at London's Queens Theatre. Lynn told NEWSWEEK that she is "feuding" with Vanessa, who recently said, "We must unconditionally defend Iraq against American, British and Israeli aggression." "I tend to disregard [Vanessa's] views," Lynn said. "I would hope that less people would pay attention to her views." ■



The family feud: Vanessa (far left) and Lynn (beside her) onstage



Fall into the time gap: Aged Jim

MAGAZINES

Aging Mr. Mojo

Mr. Mojo's hairline is rising. Or at least that's what we are led to believe by Esquire magazine, which in its March issue will offer this image of the late rocker Jim Morrison, circa 1991. Thanks to computerized photo retouching, the magazine was able to "age" the famous Doors singer—who died in 1971—by 20 years. The spoof of the popular Gap ads lists Morrison, whose fame was exceeded only by his booze intake, as a "retired rock star/AA sponsor." ■

TEXAS

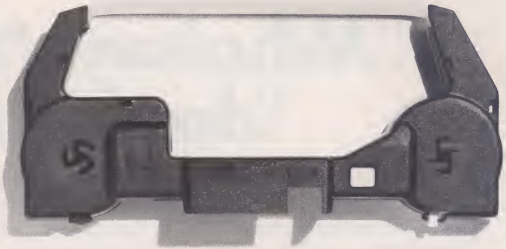
Pompom Caper

There are overzealous parents and then there are overzealous parents. A Channelview, Texas, woman named Wanda Webb Holloway stands accused of trying to help her 13-year-old daughter make the junior-high-school cheerleading squad by attempting to hire someone to kill a rival girl's mom. According to local police, Holloway figured her daughter's rival would be so distraught over her mother's death she'd pull out of the tryouts. Holloway was arrested when an acquaintance notified police she was looking for a hit man.

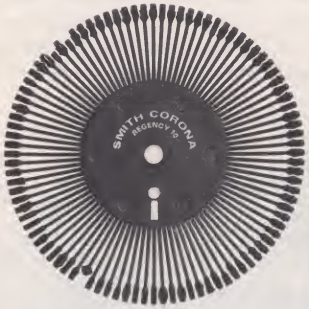
LUCY HOWARD *and* NED ZEMAN
with bureau reports

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: AP, NC, DAVID FIELDS, NC, COOPER—PHOTOSTAGE

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In fact, Honda was the very first Japanese company to build a lawn mower factory in the United States.

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de in the U.S.A."
it anymore?

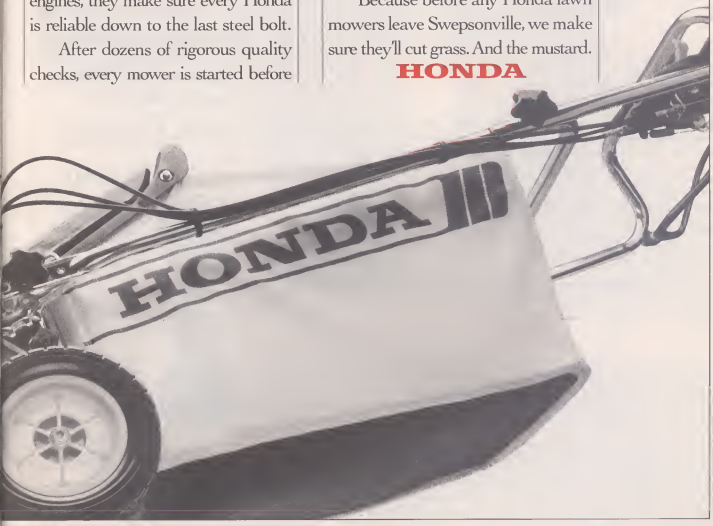
engines are made there, which is something no other U.S. lawn mower manufacturer does.

Like our associates in Ohio who produce automobiles, motorcycles and engines, they make sure every Honda is reliable down to the last steel bolt.

After dozens of rigorous quality checks, every mower is started before it is shipped. Whether it's traveling across the country or being exported to destinations as distant as France and Japan, each American-made Honda is built to go the distance.

Because before any Honda lawn mowers leave Swepsonville, we make sure they'll cut grass. And the mustard.

HONDA



Opening Salvos

As my husband and I sat down in front of the television with a drink to "watch a war," I suddenly became aware of how unreal it all seemed. Not until I read NEWSWEEK's Jan. 28 issue did the horrifying reality of the gulf war sink in. I hope that the live TV coverage of Operation Desert Storm does not eliminate the thoughtfulness of the written word or the impact of a carefully chosen photo.

JOHANNA H. BRO
Peoria Heights, Ill.

• • •

Have we learned anything from the Vietnam War? Obviously not. Twenty or 30 years ago, we felt we had to defend the world from communism; now the demon is Saddam Hussein. In all these years, our basic premise hasn't changed: we still think we know what is good for the world and we have no qualms about putting our beliefs into practice. How much more death and suffering must there be before we finally open our eyes and realize that our arrogance and naiveté should be tempered with compassion and understanding?

GILLES J. WILLARD
Poland, Ohio

• • •

I am absolutely outraged that a very loud minority of antiwar protesters may give the impression that the American people as a whole oppose President Bush's action. Recent polls suggest that an overwhelming majority support the forceful liberation of Kuwait. I wonder if any of the protesters have read Amnesty International's report on Iraqi behavior in Kuwait—a report that details numerous rapes, beatings and cold-blooded murders. Protesters stand in the streets screaming for peace, but true peace will not come until this brutal dictator is driven from Kuwait and his atrocities are stopped. More than five months of sanctions and diplomatic overtures failed to evict Saddam. Now is the time for force. Let's put our personal opinions about the moral correctness of this war aside and unite as a country behind our troops.

MIKE PALLACI
Buffalo, N.Y.

• • •

As the Persian Gulf War enters its second week, our military efforts seem to have passed beyond the point of no return. A shroud of darkness is beginning to fall upon the world. Our government has gone ahead with what it believes is a war to ensure peace. I find it contradictory, though, that a rapidly escalating war could be fought for the cause of peace. War is an act of barbarism, no matter which side claims more justification for its actions. Now is the time for a cease-fire. I plead with our lawmakers to reassess the possibility of a diplomatic resolution to this sad conflict, and I urge the president not to close the door on such alternative approaches. We cannot allow this war to become Armageddon.

WILLIAM H. PRATT JR.
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.

• • •

America is at peril: disruptions to public transportation, attacks on military recruiting offices and private businesses, buses and police vehicles vandalized and/or set ablaze on city streets, federal buildings under siege. Iraqi terrorists? No. San Francisco "peace" protesters.

RUSSELL G. GRAY
Belmont, Calif.

• • •

Regardless of one's position on the war, every American should be seriously concerned about the news censorship currently being enforced by our government. If, as polls suggest, the Bush administration has the support of a majority of Americans, why are we being denied uncensored news coverage of the war? When the administration asserts that we are fighting for democracy and then turns around and restricts access to uncensored reports from the battlefield, the word hypocritical is hardly strong enough.

MARTHA M. CAIN
Oakland, Calif.

• • •

Never before in my lifetime has a single tragedy brought so much change in people. The masses have something to share: grief, fear and apprehension. A foreboding sense of history in the making looms quietly behind our thoughts. Strangers are more inclined not just to talk, but to listen. The life-and-death struggles of our troops help to put our lives into perspective. Maybe it isn't necessary to rush from here to there. Maybe I do have time to visit my family and friends. And maybe, when all of this is over, a little of this community will remain.

MARC L. OVERMAN
Fairfax, Va.

• • •

I was frightened by the NEWSWEEK Poll on the right to protest the Persian Gulf War ("Prayers and Protest," WAR IN THE GULF, Jan. 28). Twenty-three percent of those surveyed believed that the government should ban protests against the war. What's next on the unpalatable-protest list—demonstrations for or against the Ku Klux Klan, flag-burning, abortion or the homeless? I suggest that people who advocate banning antiwar protests take a hard look at what is happening in the Soviet-occupied Baltic States. The first step to a dictatorship is the loss of personal freedoms—especially the freedom to protest publicly. When we lose the right to voice our opinions freely, we will also lose the right to call the United States a democracy.

TERESA BRICHAN MCFARLAND
Montgomery, Ala.

• • •

You reported in "Prayers and Protest" that the Pentagon has decided to suspend the traditional military honors for the coffins of soldiers killed in action in the Persian Gulf War—presumably so as not to call undue media attention to casualties. This is an odd way for the Pentagon to "support" the troops and their families. What an incredibly cruel, heartless policy.

CAROLYN KOPPER
Davis, Calif.

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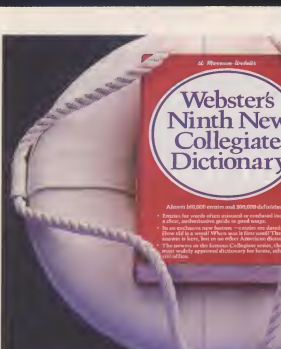
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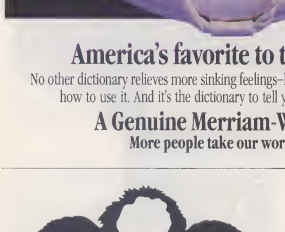
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Overheard

"If you're an editorial cartoonist, what you remember about Mitchell is the glasses. It looked more like a State of the Post Office."

Republican media adviser MIKE MURPHY, *on Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell's state of the union address*

• • •

"The people that want to talk down to me can kiss my white butt."

Rapper VANILLA ICE, *lashing out at critics at the American Music Awards*



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'Peering out of his bunker, Saddam Hussein sees his shadow, meaning six more weeks of Allied bombing'



© 1991 BOK—AKRON BEACON JOURNAL

"I don't know about that. His speech did sound a little bigheaded. Like maybe America's head is getting a little big."

Sgt. WILLIAM REDIDES, *stationed in Saudi Arabia, after watching President Bush's State of the Union address*

• • •

"I will remember I was in the desert."

Alabama Rep. SONNY CALAHAN, *recalling where he was the day war began—at a luxury resort in Palm Springs, Calif.*

• • •

"Those damned drums are keeping me up all night."

GEORGE BUSH, *on the drumbeat kept up by antiwar activists across from the White House*

"Money is not an issue when you believe in what you're doing."

New York hairdresser ROGER THOMPSON, *on business he's lost by trying to steer women away from big, blond hair at his new salon in Dallas*

• • •

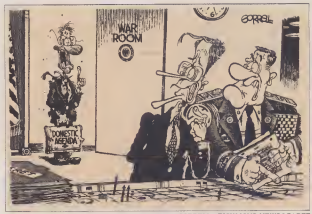
"Goodnight, Steve. I miss you. I love you. You're a hero."

CAROL BENTZLIN, *widow of Marine Cpl. Stephen Bentzlin of Yellow Meadow, Minn., in a letter she wrote just before her husband was killed in the gulf war*

• • •

"B-52 bombing from 30,000 to 40,000 feet is very accurate. They hit the ground every time."

Retired Adm. EUGENE CARROLL, *now deputy director of the Center for Defense Information, on B-52s*

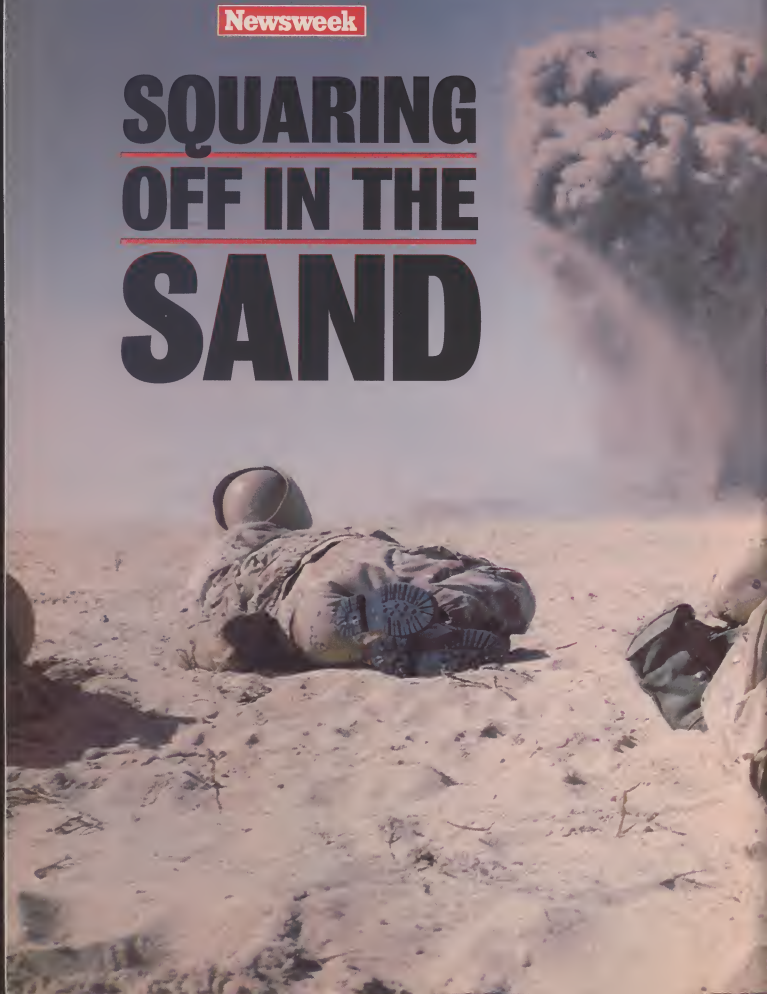


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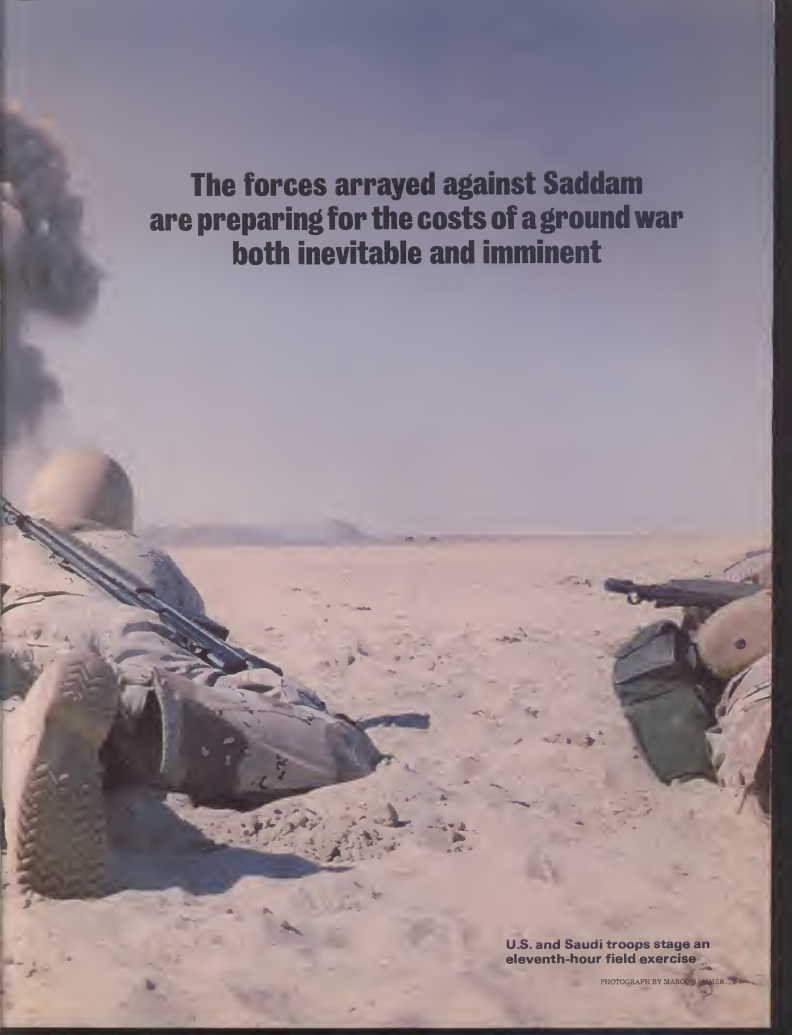
'Excuse me. . . . I'm here to report a little collateral damage'

Newsweek

SQUARING OFF IN THE SAND



The forces arrayed against Saddam are preparing for the costs of a ground war both inevitable and imminent



U.S. and Saudi troops stage an eleventh-hour field exercise

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARCUS BAUER

THE WAR

DESERT STORM

It started as a war of long-distance, high-tech force, with missiles and laser-guided bombs delivering faceless payloads. But Americans went eyeball to eyeball with the enemy last week, confronting the grinding realities of ground combat. Marines were bloodied when Iraqis swept across the Saudi border into the seaside town of Khafji. To the west 11 died, possibly from friendly fire. An Army truck driver lost near the Kuwaiti border may have become the war's first female POW. The Iraqis fled Khafji with heavy casualties, yet their march was a chill calling card, a reminder that the coming ground war will be a test—not of digital readouts and smart weapons, but of steel and flesh.



GEORGES MERILLON—GAMMA-LIAISON

Fighting in Khafji: An Iraqi armored personnel carrier left burning on a road, U.S. Marines taking cover during an artillery attack

CHARLES PLATIAU—DOD POOL

In the Heat of Battle

Iraq stages a surprise attack in Khafji—but Bush vows a ground war will begin 'on our timetable'



THE WAR
DESERT STORM

Military historians will probably say the fighting along Saudi Arabia's northern border last week was only an early skirmish in the great gulf war of 1991—but it was real enough, and surely frightening enough, to all those who fought in it. At Khafji, a deserted Saudi coastal town, and at two or more nameless map coordinates to the west, the Iraqi Army suddenly materialized in the desert night in a surprising tactical offensive. Call it a series of probing attacks or call it a military blunder: whatever it was, a handful of U.S. Marine units and their Arab allies were quickly baptized in the realities of modern war. At some locations, U.S. troops faced enemy attackers no more than 25 yards away—and in Khafji, it took more than 36 hours of bitter combat to push a sizable force of Iraqi raiders out of the battered town. "They laid down some real heavy [fire]," said Marine Cpl. Jeff Brown of Cincinnati, Ohio. "They were well disciplined and good troops."

From Khafji to Washington, the abrupt outbreak of ground combat last week could be seen as an early test of the allied campaign to liberate Kuwait and destroy Saddam Hussein's military machine. To a man—from Gen. Stormin' Norman Schwarzkopf down to the lowliest platoon commander—U.S. officers professed grim satisfaction with the results of the week's fighting: allied losses were light, and a capable enemy was routed. Schwarzkopf said the Iraqis' surprise attacks were no more meaningful than "a mosquito to an elephant." Gen. Walt Boomer, the Marine commander for Operation Desert Storm, warned Iraq that "the worst is yet to come." And George Bush, speaking at Fort Stewart, Ga., once again insisted that the ground war in the Persian Gulf, assuming one is necessary, would begin "on our timetable, not on Saddam Hussein's timetable."

The overriding point was that America and the allies would continue with the all-out bombing campaign against Iraqi forces for two more weeks and possibly longer—long enough, at any rate, to "degrade" the Iraqi Army and thereby lower U.S. casualties in the massive ground assault that lies ahead (page 24). Military sources say U.S. ground troops now being redeployed from Europe may not be fully ready for Schwarzkopf's planned offensive until mid-February. White House officials, who are acutely aware of the preponderant political need to

Women in the Military: The First POW?

When word came down that a female soldier was missing near the Saudi Arabian border, Leo and Joan Rathbun dismissed the idea that it could be their daughter. "We jokingly thought surely out of the hundreds of troops stationed in Saudi Arabia that . . . it wouldn't be Melissa," they said in a prepared statement. But last week Army officials delivered the unfathomable news: one of the two soldiers reported missing from a truck abandoned in the desert near Kuwait was the Rathbuns' daughter, Sp/4 Melissa A. Rathbun-Nealy, 20, of Newaygo, Mich. Senior military officials believe Rathbun-Nealy and a colleague, Sp/4 David Lockett, were captured by Iraqi soldiers after the pair's vehicle got stuck in the sand during a supply mission. Officials reason that the two were taken captive because the truck's cargo was missing.



GRAND RAPIDS PRESS—AP

Missing: Rathbun-Nealy

The possibility of a female POW raises new questions about the role of women in the military. Throughout history America has had fewer than 100 women POWs, including 88 in World War II and two in Vietnam. As in earlier conflicts, the women of Desert Storm are banned from combat positions. But the blurring of lines between combat and noncombat jobs in the gulf increases the likelihood of more female POWs. The question is how the public will react to seeing women held captive—and possibly tortured—by the enemy. For women in the military, attaining equality may carry a terrible price.



PETER DEJONG—AP

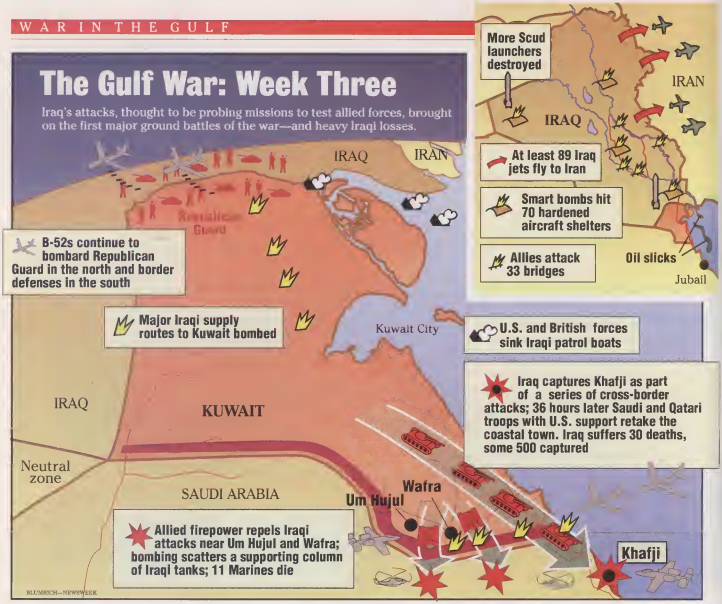
An allied tank column in Khafji

keep U.S. casualties to a minimum, insist that Bush would not be suckered into ordering a ground attack prematurely. "We want to bomb as long as we can, cut off their rice and water and wait until they can't walk," one administration official said. "There isn't any political pressure to go," said another. "The political pressure is to wait."

The Iraqi forays nevertheless provided a convincing demonstration of Saddam Hussein's willingness to gamble. In purely military terms, the offensive made no sense at all: enemy armor and infantry left their fortified positions in southern Kuwait for a series of maneuvers that left them wide open to a withering allied aerial bombardment. The bombing, which lasted the better part of two days and nights, almost certainly smashed the offensive and cost the Iraqis large losses. But the attacks suggested that the Iraqi Army is far more capable of complicated nighttime maneuvers than previously believed—that its command-and-control functions remain substantially intact and that at least some enemy units may be equipped with night-vision equipment. By the weekend allied military officials concluded that up to 2,000 Iraqi troops had been involved in the attack on Khafji—and at midweek, according to Pentagon sources, Desert Storm commanders were startled by reports that as many as 60,000 enemy troops and 1,000 tanks were mobilizing for a possible large-scale attack into Saudi Arabia.

Wake-up call: The big attack never came, possibly because of the ferocious response by allied air forces. U.S. jets took part in what Air Force Maj. Richard Pauly of Mandeville, La., described as "a feeding frenzy" on Thursday night. Interviewed by Col. David Hackworth, who is on assignment for NEWSWEEK, Pauly said his squadron of A-10 Warthogs swooped down on an Iraqi armored column of more than 100 vehicles. The A-10s bombed the first and last vehicles to trap the column, then systematically destroyed all the tanks and armored personnel carriers in between. "I rolled in and gave them a wake-up call with six 500-pound bombs," Pauly said. "That pissed them off, and they shot back." The Iraqi air defenses couldn't cope with the A-10s, and Pauly said the whole column was finally destroyed. On infrared night-vision scopes, Pauly said, "you could see the Iraqis running from vehicles and pulling bodies from the burning tanks. . . We own the night."

The Iraqis owned Khafji—for a bit more than 24 hours, anyway. As allied intelligence later pieced it together, the attackers moved into the evacuated town with two or three coordinated armor columns Tuesday night. Saudi and Qatari troops, backed by U.S. Marine artillery, Harrier jets and Cobra helicopter gunships, counterattacked the next day to begin a house-to-house battle that lasted until Friday. According to press reports, the Iraqis used a ruse to bring their tanks within close range of Saudi units. Shortly before noon on Wednesday, Saudi troops saw a line of Iraqi tanks


The Gulf War: Week Three
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IRAN
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Major Iraqi supply routes to Kuwait bombed
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IRAQ
KUWAIT
Neutral zone
SAUDI ARABIA
Um Hujul
Wafra
Khafji
Allied firepower repels Iraqi attacks near Um Hujul and Wafra; bombing scatters a supporting column of Iraqi tanks; 11 Marines die
BLUMRICH—NEWSWEEK
More Scud launchers destroyed
IRAN
IRAQ
At least 89 Iraq jets fly to Iran
Smart bombs hit 70 hardened aircraft shelters
Allies attack 33 bridges
Oil slicks
Jubail

approaching with their turrets reversed and their big guns facing north, away from the city. That was a surrender signal set forth in psychological-warfare leaflets air-dropped over Iraqi units by U.S. planes. As the Saudis held their fire, the Iraqis came closer, then swung their guns around and opened fire at the last minute. "From now on, I say 'Screw it'," said one U.S. Marine, as news of the Iraqi trick spread through frontline units. "All those mothahs die."

At least 30 of them did during the ensuing battle for Khafji. Lance Cpl. Brown and 11 other Marines, members of two reconnaissance teams, were already in the city when the Iraqis moved in. They spent 48 nerve-racking hours holed up in an apartment building surrounded by enemy troops, calling in air and artillery strikes with coded radio calls. At one point, Iraqi soldiers entered the building and searched the ground floor: the Marines, hiding on the roof, had already burned their code books and booby-trapped the stairs with Claymore mines. "We could see their helmets bobbing up and down," Brown said. "They sure would have had a rude awakening if they had come up after us." All 12 Marines survived their close encounter with the enemy—but Brown, who took a shrapnel wound in the thigh, may get one of the first Purple Hearts of the gulf war.

Friendly fire: Left stranded in the city as their tanks retreated north, 429 Iraqi officers and men surrendered to advancing Saudi and Qatari troops. The number of POWs itself was a surprise, since it suggested that the overall size of the Iraqi raiding force was much larger than U.S. officers had at first estimated. The mass surrender also showed that the Iraqis, who at first fought bravely and well, chose not to become martyrs when the battle turned against them. That may bode well for allied forces when and if the ground campaign rolls north. But there was evidence of allied bungling as well. Although the Pentagon insisted that no firm conclusions could be drawn, military sources in Saudi Arabia said 11 U.S. Marines may have been killed near Umm Hujul in a mistaken air attack by a U.S. jet. In a separate incident, a Marine unit was attacked by two allied planes that dropped cluster bombs within a few hundred yards of its position; the explosions lit up the desert night with lethal fireworks, but no one was hurt. "Getting wasted by our own guys would be the ultimate waste," a noncom said. "But with all the thousands of sorties being flown, I suppose things like this are going to happen."

The larger lesson of last week's events was that U.S. ground troops seemed well prepared for the first shock of combat. They had better be, since the Iraqi Army is proving itself to be as unpredictable on the attack as it has been stubborn in defense. The land battle for Kuwait will test a new generation of soldiers in a fast-paced, almost unimaginably violent style of combat—and it may well test an anxious nation as well.

TOM MORGANTHAU *with* RAY WILKINSON *in Khafji and* DOUGLAS WALLER *and* THOMAS M. DEFRANK *in Washington*

Life With the Line Doggies

Saddam's suicidal assault on Khafji

BY COL. DAVID H. HACKWORTH

The first ground confrontation of the gulf war is over, and to me it made no military sense at all. For Iraq to send in armor without air cover—and in this war they'll never have air cover—was suicidal. The Iraqis did hold an abandoned and undefended town for more than 24 hours, but at a bitter price in men and armored vehicles. It was an operation doomed from the start.

I was in Khafji, about six miles from the Kuwaiti border, the day this fight began. It was a ghost town by the beach—many people had left on Aug. 2 when the Iraqi Army invaded Kuwait. It was also undefended, for good military reasons. If you're a soldier and have a choice, you try to avoid the murderous street fighting you get in defending a town—you pull back, as the Marines did, to the open ground where your attackers have to expose themselves to come at you. So walking into Khafji was easy for the Iraqis. The thin line of troops in the [illegible] days. They were Saudi now—before, they came only at night. The captain thought that many more would come when they found a path through their own minefields. He thought that the minefields had been laid at least partly to keep the Iraqis from defecting, and this theory was backed up later by Lt. Mike Harris, a Marine intelligence officer, who told me that the minefields had been laid by one group of Iraqis, who were then withdrawn, so that their replacements would have no idea where the mines were laid.

THE WAR
DESERT STORM

Red Flashes: Harris told me that more than 100 Iraqis had defected in his sector since the shooting started and he expected a lot more: the continuous B-52 bombing was "not only physically crippling but psychologically damaging." In my three nights in the Khafji area, I spent many hours listening to wave after wave of the pounding from the air. I counted eight B-52 attacks in one night. Each plane carries tons of bombs. Even from that distance I could see the angry red flashes of explosions and felt the tremor of the explosions that shook the ground. I felt a great sympathy for [illegible] end.

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This lack of air capability won't stop the Iraqi Army from launching ground attacks. They have the ability to do that. But if the attack on Khafji is an example of what we can expect, then the allies don't have too much to worry about. That attack was contained and finally ended as it should have been. The Saudi tripwire alerted the Marines who, with their allies, took on the task of containing and destroying the invaders. Gunships and Harrier jets backed up by rapid-firing Marine artillery rolled in and did their job, enabling the Saudis and Qataris to move in for the final mop-up.

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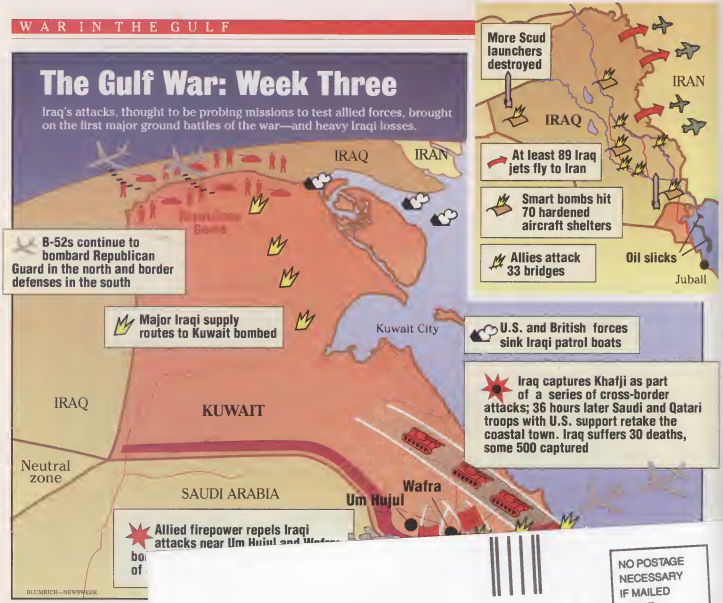
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PATRICK DURAND—SYGMA

i after the battle

walking across the border [illegible]


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I was in Khafji, about six miles from the Kuwaiti border, the day this fight began. It was a ghost town by the beach—many people had left on Aug. 2 when the Iraqi Army invaded Kuwait. It was also undefended, for good military reasons. If you're a soldier and have a choice, you try to avoid the murderous street fighting you get in defending a town—you pull back, as the Marines did, to the open ground where your attackers have to expose themselves to come at you. So walking into Khafji was easy for the Iraqis. The thin line of troops in the area were not defenders. They were Saudi soldiers from the Fifth Battalion of the King Abdul Aziz Brigade, whose job was to act as the eyes and ears of the allies' main line farther back.

I developed a special affinity for these men in the middle between Iraqis and Marines. The Arab fighters I spent my time with didn't have night-vision goggles and advanced fire-direction computers and smart machines. These were men with chemical-protection gear—not very fancy but functional, but who were all too proud to shave their beards—which means their gas masks would leak and be practically useless under chemical attack. They were line doggies from another age: dirty, living on light rations, gathering desert twigs for fires, and rationing water, as Joshua's soldiers no doubt did outside the walls of Jericho, and Maj. Gen. Terry Allen's Big Red One soldiers did in the Tunisian desert in 1943.

I don't have any Arabic, and the captain didn't have a lot of English, but with signs and a few words we managed to communicate. The captain said that 21 Iraqi soldiers had surrendered in the past three days. He said the Iraqis were walking across the border during the day now—before, they came only at night. The captain thought that many more would come when they found a path through their own minefields. He thought that the minefields had been laid at least partly to keep the Iraqis from defecting, and this theory was backed up later by Lt. Mike Harris, a Marine intelligence officer, who told me that the minefields had been laid by one group of Iraqis, who were then withdrawn, so that their replacements would have no idea where the mines were laid.

Red Flashes: Harris told me that more than 100 Iraqis had defected in his sector since the shooting started and he expected a lot more: the continuous B-52 bombing was "not only physically crippling but psychologically damaging." In my three nights in the Khafji area, I spent many hours listening to wave after wave of the pounding from the air. I counted eight B-52 attacks in one night. Each plane carries tons of bombs. Even from that distance I could see the angry red flashes of explosions and felt the tremor of the explosions that shook the ground. I felt a great sympathy for the Iraqi soldiers at the receiving end, and without a doubt the Iraqis in Kuwait are cracking. It also made me realize that war has changed little over the centuries for the Willies and Omars who make up the line, the guys who lie in shallow holes and stare into the darkness.

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The author retired from the U.S. Army in 1971. He is in Saudi Arabia on special assignment for NEWSWEEK.



PATRICK DURAND—SYGMA

Saudi soldiers display a burned-out Iraqi tank in Khafji after the battle

The Point of Attack

Iraq will seek to exchange losses on the ground for political advantage

THE WAR
DESERT STORM

The fighting in northern Saudi Arabia last week was not the beginning of the *real* land war. That will come when American and allied forces launch a massive, multipronged ground attack on Iraqi troops and tanks dug in across the deserts of Kuwait and southern Iraq. It is an unpredictable war: Saddam Hussein's soldiers are not known for their skill on attack, but on defense, they are among the world's best, and they have had six months to prepare for this battle. They can be expected to fight stubbornly, protected by a daunting array of minefields, antitank ditches and hardened fortifications—daring their enemies to engage in the kind of brutal trench warfare that went out of military fashion after the ghastly slaughter of World War I. American planners believe that from the very beginning of the ground war, Iraq may fight back at the allies with lethal billows of poison gas.

Iraq's strategy in the coming battle will be to exchange military losses for political advantage. Knowing that he cannot win the war on the battlefield, Saddam will sacrifice the lives of his own soldiers in order to kill Americans. Far more Iraqis

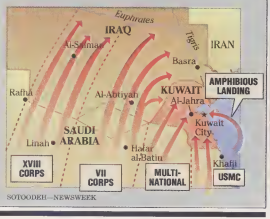


LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

Preparing for the start of the real thing, U.S. Marines practice in the desert

No Way Out

In a multipronged flanking maneuver, allies could try to block western escape routes of Iraqis forced out of Kuwait.



SOTOODEH—NEWSWEEK

than Americans will die, but Saddam is betting that U.S. public opinion will not tolerate for long the kind of losses that could be produced by a meat grinder of a ground war.

To inflict those losses, Iraqi military thinking favors an aggressive defense. The Iraqis like to use obstacles, such as minefields and frontline fortifications, to channel attackers into killing zones ringed by armor and mobile artillery. At the battle of Susangerd in January 1981, they lured advancing Iranians into a firetrap and destroyed more than 15 percent of Iran's entire tank force. The U.S. Army uses a complicated scoring system to weigh the combat effectiveness of various armies. In the mid-1980s, the scoring date of the latest unclassified rankings, Iraqi armored divisions scored higher, on defense, than Israeli, British or even top-of-the-line Soviet armored divisions.

Most Iraqi troops aren't that good. The forces arrayed along the Saudi frontier are poorly trained border guards and foot soldiers. Their function is to retreat, luring allied attackers into traps farther back, or to die where they stand, trading their lives for a few American casualties. "Those guys up front are really dog meat," says Ralph Ostrich, an analyst at BDM Corp., a defense-consulting firm in Washington. The armored and mechanized infantry divisions to the rear are better troops. Saddam's strategic reserve, the Republican Guards, are well trained, loyal and intensely nationalistic.

'Death blow': During the eight-year Iran-Iraq War, which ended in 1988, the reserves were the key element in Iraqi tactics, according to a report by the U.S. Army War College. "While Western armies usually employ reserves to reinforce success or to launch counterattacks," it says, "the Iraqis frequently used theirs to salvage deteriorating situations at the battlefront and also to deliver the death blow to enemy units trapped in the planned killing zone."

The Iraqi Army faces many handicaps in the current war, most notably the absence of air support. Poison gas could be the equalizer. Iraq has warned repeatedly that it will use chemical weapons, as it has in the past against both Iranian troops and rebellious Kurdish civilians. Iraq also has been working on biological weapons—anthrax or other virulent diseases. But they are tricky to handle and difficult to deliver; there is real doubt that Iraq has usable biological weapons. Chemical weapons, in contrast, are a routine part of Iraqi tactics. The decision to unleash them is made at Saddam's headquarters, and a senior U.S. official says "there's no doubt in my mind he'll use them if we attack."

Iraq's chemical weapons include mustard gas, which burns the skin and destroys lung tissue if inhaled, and nerve gas, which kills quickly by blocking parts of the central nervous system. Chemical weapons can be delivered by warplanes, helicopters or missiles, but Iraq's usual practice is to place chemical warheads on artillery or mortar shells. Iraqi 155-mm howitzers have a range of up to 24 miles; a typical barrage of 18 shells can thoroughly contaminate an area the size of six football fields. The kind of gas used depends on the situation. In the attack, Iraqi forces might choose nonpersistent nerve agents, such as Sarin, which blow away quickly. Fighting a defensive battle, they might fire on their enemy's rear-echelon artillery batteries, command posts or supply dumps with mustard gas or advanced VX nerve agents, which can linger in the target area for days or weeks, depending on the weather.

Early warning: U.S. forces take a variety of precautions against poison gas. At one air base in eastern Saudi Arabia, a pet chicken named Buford stands guard. "As long as Buford talks, we're in good shape," says Col. Bill Van Meter, commander of the 4410th Operations Support Wing. Actually, Buford has little value as an early-warning system; humans are more sensitive to most chemical weapons than chickens are. American troops also have gas masks and

Face to Face in the Sand

IRAQ



KOL AL-ARAB

T-72 Tank: This desert-tested Soviet tank has a powerful and accurate 125-mm gun but is vulnerable to TOW missiles and Rockeye cluster bombs.



G-5 Gun: This 155-mm howitzer is acknowledged to be the world's finest. Its range of up to 24 miles beats any U.S. guns, and the G-5 is more accurate.

ALLIES



PETER DEJONG—DOD POOL

M1 Abrams: The bulldozer version clears mines for the main U.S. tank, the M-1A1, which has a more powerful gun and tougher armor than the T-72.



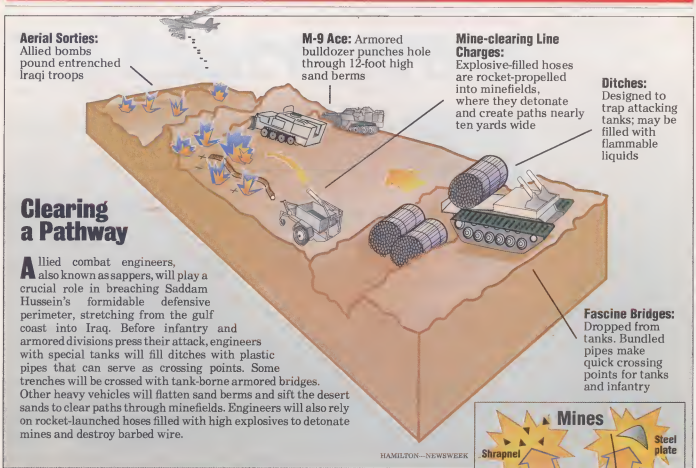
SADAYUKI MIKAMI—DOD POOL

M2 Bradley: This heavily armored "Infantry Fighting Vehicle" carries seven soldiers and weaponry to destroy light-armored vehicles and tanks.



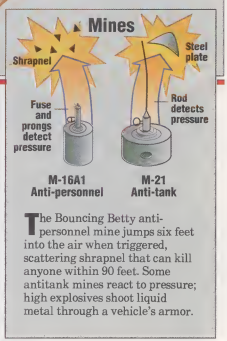
MARK PETERS—POOL

After a bitter fight near the border, an Iraqi soldier lies dead outside a gate in Khafji


Aerial Sorties: Allied bombs pound entrenched Iraqi troops
M-9 Ace: Armored bulldozer punches hole through 12-foot high sand berms
Mine-clearing Line Charges: Explosive-filled hoses are rocket-propelled into minefields, where they detonate and create paths nearly ten yards wide
Ditches: Designed to trap attacking tanks; may be filled with flammable liquids
Fascine Bridges: Dropped from tanks. Bundled pipes make quick crossing points for tanks and infantry
HAMILTON—NEWSWEEK

Clearing a Pathway

Allied combat engineers, also known as sappers, will play a crucial role in breaching Saddam Hussein's formidable defensive perimeter, stretching from the gulf coast into Iraq. Before infantry and armored divisions press their attack, engineers with special tanks will fill ditches with plastic pipes that can serve as crossing points. Some trenches will be crossed with tank-borne armored bridges. Other heavy vehicles will flatten sand berms and sift the desert sands to clear paths through minefields. Engineers will also rely on rocket-launched hoses filled with high explosives to detonate mines and destroy barbed wire.



The Bouncing Betty anti-personnel mine jumps six feet into the air when triggered, scattering shrapnel that can kill anyone within 90 feet. Some antitank mines react to pressure; high explosives shoot liquid metal through a vehicle's armor.

protective suits. They carry injectable nerve-gas antidotes, such as atropine, and, when battle seems imminent, they can take tablets that boost the effect of the antidote for eight hours or so. Protective gear slows people down, however; so do the aftereffects of antidotes. "A chemical attack will ... make the ground war last longer," says Elisa Harris, a Brookings Institution expert on the subject.

Dragging out the war is just what Saddam wants, and in that respect, he has geography on his side. In order to avoid some of the trench warfare that would be required to claw through the layered Iraqi defense, the allied command is expected to send a large armored force looping around Iraq's western flank to attack the Republican Guard and other units stationed in the rear (map, page 24). That could be a logistical nightmare for the allies. By U.S. Army estimates, one tank division uses up 5,000 tons of ammunition, 550,000 gallons of fuel, 300,000 gallons of water and 80,000 meals in a single day of "high-intensity offensive operations." The allied thrust is expected to involve four or five divisions—needing, altogether, as many as 80 million gallons of fuel for a 30-day campaign.

Saddam's weaknesses are even more severe. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, the U.S. commander in the Persian Gulf, said last week that bombing had interdicted 90 percent of the supplies to Iraqi forces in the theater of war. By blowing the bridges over the Euphrates, U.S. planes also blocked the retreat of Iraqi tanks, trapping the Republican Guards. With the allies in firm control of the skies, Saddam's fighters provide no air cover, his strike aircraft bomb no allied targets. He cannot wage a "combined arms" campaign, the coordination of air and land attacks that is the hallmark of modern warfare. He has to fight blind, with no aerial reconnaissance; one purpose of Iraq's cross-border attacks last week may have been simply to find out what was going on behind allied lines. Shorn of air power, Saddam's troops could face the grim fate of Arab forces in the 1967 Mideast war, when the Egyptian and Jordanian armies were pounded into the dust.

Endgame: Destroying Saddam's troops will not be easy, especially if they hunker down in their fortifications, forcing the allies to dig them out, inch by bloody inch. Schwarzkopf's strategy will be to flush them out into the open, where allied planes and armor can get at them. The big western flanking attack could force the Republican Guards to come out and defend the approaches to Basra, Iraq's second city. Already some U.S. analysts are talking about a bold replay of Gazala, Erwin Rommel's daring victory in 1942, when he threw his Afrika Korps into the heart of the British line and used the enemy's minefields to protect his own flanks and rear. The forceful Schwarzkopf will never be known as a "Desert Fox," but his campaign against the still-potent remnants of Saddam's military machine will probably determine the outcome of the war.

RUSSELL WATSON *with* JOHN BARRY *and* DOUGLAS WALLER *in Washington and* PETER KATEL *in Saudi Arabia*

Breaching the 'Saddam Line'

Sappers and the art of clearing dangerously



SADAYUKI MIKAMI—DOD POOL

A Marine engineer briefs U.S. troops on land mines the Iraqis have laid in Kuwait

Allied troops call it the "Saddam Line," a hellish frontier reminiscent of World War I battlefields in Central Europe. Its ribbons of sand berms, trench works, tank ditches, barbed wire and minefields stretch from the gulf along the Saudi-Kuwait border deep into Iraq (chart, page 26). Invaders entangled in its hazards could find themselves languishing in "killing zones" controlled by Iraqi guns. The first coalition forces into this no man's land will not be tanks or infantry. Breaching Saddam's defenses is the job of U.S. and British combat engineers, also known as sappers. A speedy ground campaign could hinge on their ability to clear the way by erecting temporary bridges, flattening berms and removing enemy mines—all while under fire. "There are three groups who go eye to eye with the enemy: infantry, armor and the sapper," says Lt. Col. Roger Somerville, who teaches the perilous art at the U.S. Army Engineer School at Fort Leonard Wood, Mo.

Armies have long sought engineering solutions to military objectives. The Assyrians used inflated animal skins to cross defensive moats. American sappers knocked out German minefields and blockhouses on D-Day. In October 1973, Egyptian combat engineers employed water cannons to break through Israeli sand ramparts on the eastern side of the Suez Canal. Desert Storm's ground campaign will be heavily engineered as well. Bombers will be able to eliminate some of the Iraqi defensive perimeter, but most allied air power will be focused on artillery and tank positions in the rear. American warfighting doctrine, which calls for lightning-quick thrusts of overwhelming armored force, will depend on combat engineers to remove obstacles with precision and dispatch. A delay of just a few minutes in completing a bridge or eliminating a minefield could allow Iraqi artillery to lock in. "If we take too long, we'll have a dramatic increase in losses," says Col. Anthony Nida, deputy assistant commandant at the engineering school. "There's a window that we must meet to achieve success or we will bog down."

THE WAR
DESERT STORM

While high technology dominates many elements of the allied campaign, combat engineering remains a no-frills affair, a combination of brute force and slide-rule pragmatism. Tanks fitted with rakes and plows will skim the desert sand and soil for mines. British and American assault vehicles carrying a 165-mm demolition gun can remove hardened enemy emplacements. The U.S. version can pierce seven inches of concrete from a range of nearly 3,000 feet. Other armored vehicles can flatten berms and hydraulically launch 60-foot sections of bridge, or drop bundles of fascines—lengths of pipe linked by chains—across trenches or canals. Still, a lot can go wrong. Swift-rising desert winds could dissipate mortar-launched smoke screens, exposing sappers to fire. Intense heat from flammable liquids burning in enemy ditches could prevent deployment of the hydraulic bridges.

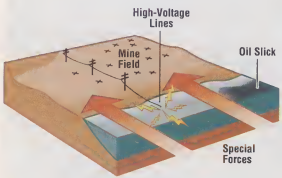
Mines are probably the engineers' greatest worry. For years Iraq has been a voracious consumer of the low-cost antitank and antipersonnel mines readily available on the international arms market. Allied officials estimate that Saddam may have placed some 500,000 of them throughout Kuwait—along with countless homemade booby traps. Their inventory is believed to include older Soviet-made mines with pressure-sensitive detonators, as well as new "smart" models triggered by seismic or electromagnetic waves. British and American engineers plan to clear paths through minefields by shooting off rocket-propelled hoses packed with high explosives. The British model, the Giant Viper, can create an opening nearly 10 yards wide and 200 yards long. But because of their volatile payload and exposure to enemy fire, the Viper and its American counterpart, the Mine-clearing Line Charge (MICLIC), are both virtual bombs on wheels. "If we get a direct hit, it won't be so bad," one Marine engineer gamely joked. "We just won't know what hit us."

Engineers will also find themselves relying on measures that have been around for years. The Bangalore torpedo, a length of explosive pipe effective at blasting concertina and barbed wire at close range, was used on D-Day. There is also the grim prospect of having to put lone soldiers in the field with bayonets or mine detectors. Sometimes, finding a minefield "comes down to somebody stepping on one," says Army Capt. Jeffrey Jerome of the First Engineers Battalion.

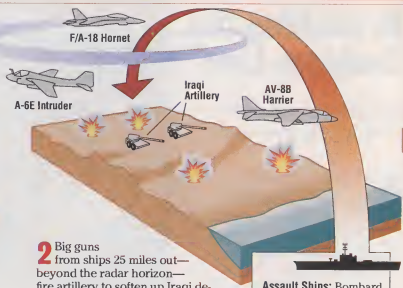
Bulking up: Both British and U.S. engineers have been training hard for months using elaborate replicas of Iraqi perimeter defenses. American commanders in the gulf concede that the British have the edge in experience, training and equipment. While the First British Armored Division has three full Royal Engineer regiments attached, a similar Army or Marine division normally has only one engineer battalion. The United States is trying to bulk up, though. Recent graduates at Fort Leonard Wood, normally assigned to various posts throughout the world, are being held at the school for extra training in mechanized-combat engineering and possible shipment to the Persian Gulf. "Everything we've trained for is over there," says Pvt. Thomas O'Connor. Training is one thing, combat quite another. The ability of O'Connor and others like him to bridge the two will determine how quickly the Saddam Line falls.

BILL TURQUE *at Fort Leonard Wood, Mo., with* RAY WILKINSON *in Saudi Arabia*

Hitting the Beaches: A Scenario



1 Navy SEALs have been making secret reconnaissance missions, probing the beaches for suitable landing sites for the heavy equipment to come and scouting such hazards as minefields and submerged high-voltage wires.



2 Big guns from ships 25 miles out—beyond the radar horizon—fire artillery to soften up Iraqi defenses. F/A-18s and A-6E Intruders police the skies on- and offshore and take out Iraqi defenses, while AV-8B Harriers provide close-in support for ground troops.

Assault Ships: Bombard enemy defenses from beyond radar range

To the Shores of Kuwait

The Marines expect their largest amphibious operation since Inchon

In one sense, an amphibious assault on Iraqi forces in Kuwait is already underway. It's just that the Iraqis don't know it. By now, U.S. Navy SEAL teams have staked out the beaches, gathering hundreds of details from the gradients and firmness of the sand to the densities and types of minefields. Satellites and reconnaissance aircraft provide intelligence about Iraqi defenses and counterattack forces. The U.S. Marine attack forces are rehearsed: during the last 10 days of January, 8,000 Marines staged a dress-rehearsal landing in Oman, far from journalists' prying eyes. The landing point has been chosen, and a range of possible dates, too.

What would be the military purpose of the mission? That is a closely held secret: suggesting the objective might give away the beachhead. It's safe to assume that the nearly 40 amphibious-warfare vessels assembled in the gulf—the largest amphibious landing force since the invasion of Inchon in Korea in 1950—are part of an effort to support the Army's tank assault north against Iraqi defenses in Kuwait. One possible goal is to land troops behind Iraq's first line of defense in southern Kuwait. Perhaps the aim is to retake Kuwait City. Saddam Hussein seems to have considered both possibilities: the Persian Gulf's counterclockwise tides have carried Iraq's 7 million-barrel oil spill directly across landing routes for either of the above strategies.

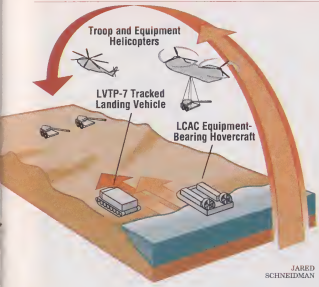
THE WAR
DESERT STORM

More likely, though, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, the U.S. commander, has a different scenario in mind. Amphibious assault—so critical to the Normandy invasion and island hopping in the Pacific campaign during World War II—relies on speed and surprise, and will probably take place at night. The hallmarks of an amphibious landing are a seaborne assault launched over the horizon from fast craft that can race to the beach from a distance of up to 25 miles; a helicopter-borne assault behind enemy beach defenses, a tactic known as vertical envelopment; a double-wave doctrine—the first to capture a beachhead, the second to reinforce it, and the 90-minute window, the maximum amount of time for the Marines to assemble enough combat power onshore to meet a counterattack by the enemy. Here, in more graphic terms, is what Saddam can look forward to:

First, a massive bombardment of his coastal defenses. Launched from aircraft carriers and covered by F-14 fighters, A-6s and F/A-18s will pound Silkworm missile-launching sites—Iraq's best hope of damaging major American warships. They will also hit heavy artillery near the coast.



Marine Corps Hovercraft use U.S. beaches to



JARED SCHNEIDMAN

3 Troops come in by CH-53E Super Stallion helicopters and amphibious landing vehicles; each group is followed (ideally, within 90 minutes, the expected enemy response time) by its artillery and equipment.

Land-based bombers, perhaps even B-52s, will also get into the act to cripple Iraq's ability to respond quickly to a Marine landing. If particular radars or communications centers must be destroyed, F-117A Stealth fighters will be on hand.

Next will come a punishing round of salvos from U.S. battleships in the Persian Gulf. Aside from their arsenal of Tomahawk cruise missiles, the USS Missouri and the Wisconsin carry 16-inch guns, with a range of about 23 miles. These will pound the area around the beachhead, attempting to create a safe perimeter around the Marines' position. At the same time, carrier-based strike aircraft—flying under the whistling arc of battleship shells—will carry out low-level sorties parallel to the beach to provide pinpoint fire against Iraqis. Meanwhile, the Navy's E-2C Hawkeye early-warning aircraft will be scanning the skies for approaching Iraqi planes, particularly the Exocet-armed Mirage F-1s now moved to Iran.

Then, finally, come the Marines. The first wave of assault craft will be a fleet of up to 21 unarmed hovercraft, which can zip toward the shore at 50 knots and carry up to three basic amphibious assault vehicles (AAVs) or three light armored vehicles (LAVs). Each AAV can transport 25 Marines and their equipment, landing safely even in 10-foot surf. But at five to seven knots, they are slow; hovercraft will drop them into the water no more than a mile from the beach.



M. SEITELMAN—FOTO CONSORTIUM

practice a landing in the Persian Gulf

As the first seaborne assault wave approaches, the first wave of airborne Marines will be clattering overhead. Ferried in its own helicopter fleet—the CH-46E Sea Knight and the CH-53 Sea Stallions and Super Stallions—a battalion-size Marine force will land in minutes to seize an outer perimeter of the beachhead, an area some five miles inland from the assault beach itself. Flying shotgun for the Stallions will be the Marines' AH-1W SeaCobra attack helicopters with enough firepower—20-mm cannon in nose turrets, as well as Hellfire and TOW antitank missiles and Sidewinder antiaircraft missiles—to act as both gunships and mobile defense against Iraqi infantry ground fire.

The first wave of ground forces won't be heavily armed. But, with the help of close air support from Cobras and Harrier AV-8Bs, it won't be defenseless, either. The Marines will carry a small arsenal of portable firepower, including: 81-mm mortars to hit long-range targets, shoulder-fired Dragon missiles and light anti-armor weapons for shorter ones; 40-mm grenade launchers attached to the standard M-16A2 rifles to pummel Iraqi infantry, and shoulder-fired, multipurpose assault weapons that can take out bunkers.

Knockout punch: Last comes the second wave of LCAC (landing craft, air cushion) hovercraft, as well as other landing craft, bringing in additional troops and the Marines' M-1A1 tanks and heralding the second wave of helicopters, ferrying 105-mm and 198-mm howitzers. Continued allied air superiority will prevent a major counterattack by an organized force of Iraqi tanks and allow around-the-clock buildup of heavier weapons by Marines—up to 150 or so tanks—to attack the enemy from the flank or from the rear.

No one believes such a campaign can proceed flawlessly and without high casualties. Allied planners expect desperate Iraqis to put up a prodigious fight. Another oil slick would slow up amphibious armored personnel carriers. Marine intelligence officers believe the Iraqis have hauled electric-power lines to some parts of the Kuwaiti coast. The idea, however improbable, is to throw the power lines into the surf and electrocute incoming Marines. At the very least, coastal waters will be lined with mines to blow up amphibious craft; beaches will conceal thousands of tank traps, barriers and minefields. Among the deadliest obstacles: oil drums filled with gelatinized gasoline, buried in the sand beneath barbed wire, which, when detonated, explode like napalm.

Still, the Marines badly want this engagement. Successful amphibious campaigns capture the imagination. "We need a victory," concedes a senior Marine officer. "Beirut was a disaster. In Panama, we were overshadowed by the Army. We need a chance to show a new generation of the American people what the Marines can do." Marines fare well in war—images of planting the flag at the summit of Iwo Jima and even stoically retreating from the Chosin reservoir to the coast in North Korea are virtual American icons—and shabbily in the peacetime fight for mission and money. In post-cold-war days, the corps is locked in acrimonious debate with the Army over which should serve as the primary U.S. expeditionary force. The outcome will depend to some extent on how each branch of the service conducts itself in the gulf.

History lesson: Winning renown comes at an awful price. Amphibious assault is still the most perilous form of warfare, even though it has come a long way from its origins—the grim and bloody engagements in the Pacific and, later, in Korea. But in a society that regards history as largely irrelevant, the U.S. military stands out as a conspicuous exception. No Marine will ever forget the disastrous lesson of Tarawa, a landing in the Gilbert Islands in November 1943. There, an amphibious landing was assigned to take a beach fenced in by an offshore coral reef. Thanks to poor intelligence about the local tides, their landing craft ran aground on the reef. The Marines had to disembark and wade 700 yards to shore in chest-high water, as Japanese gunners cut them mercilessly to pieces. The result: 1,113 dead, 2,290 wounded in 76 hours. That battle taught the corps some lessons about preparation and air support that served it for the rest of the war. And will serve it again in the Persian Gulf.

TOM POST *with* JOHN BARRY *and* DOUGLAS WALLER *in Washington*

The Eve of Destruction



CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—DOD POOL

Forward-based U.S. Marines practice trench warfare in the Saudi Arabian desert

THE WAR

DESERT STORM

Get your goddammed head down below the trench line," the Marine team leader snapped urgently as a squad of grunts stumbled along a W-shaped Iraqi-style trench. "If you don't you're gonna get your head blown off." A Marine radioman, always a target for enemy snipers because the long antenna on his communications gear marks his position, kept muttering, "I'm dead, man. I'm f—ing dead." Across the sand dunes an amphibious assault vehicle spilled a huge bundle of plastic piping called a fascine into a trench to form a temporary bridge. Within seconds Marine M-60 tanks roared past the breach and through a cleared "enemy" minefield. It was a dress rehearsal for the U.S. Marines' role in the liberation of Kuwait. This infantry battalion—which cannot be named under military-censorship rules—will be one of the first allied ground units to try penetrating the barrier of sand berms, trenches, barbed wire and minefields the Iraqis have constructed along the length of the Saudi-Kuwait border. Last week they proclaimed themselves ready. "If you haven't learned how to fight and survive by now," squad leader Sgt. Bob Bowles of Houston, Texas, told his unit, "you never will."

The Marines have come a long way since they arrived "in country" in August. The first nighttime mechanized assault on a simulated Iraqi position I covered with this same unit ended in confusion: the men got lost in the dark. The grunts are now confident of overcoming the potential horrors of trench warfare, Iraqi chemical attack and the face-to-face combat and killing they are likely to encounter. "The more you know about a nightmare, the less you worry about it," said Sgt. William L. Toland of Abilene, Texas. "We're not losing any sleep over the threat of Iraqi poison-gas attacks anymore. We have the equipment and training to handle it." Added Lance Cpl. Scott Cornell of Detroit: "I'm looking forward to combat. I've been training for trench warfare for three years. I really hope the Iraqis are good—then we will see just how good we are." His sidekick, Cpl. Jerry Taylor of Oakley, Calif., chimed in, "Do I have any problem in killing an Iraqi soldier? Absolutely not . . . I don't plan on taking a bullet because I'm too weak to pull the trigger on him first."

Waiting has always been the worst part of war for any grunt but it has been particularly difficult in the desert. The Marines are used to leaving families, wives and girlfriends behind on routine overseas assignments but, Sergeant Bowles said, "when we came to Saudi Arabia, we left everything behind . . . Since we arrived many Marines have literally not even seen a Saudi man or woman. Out here in the desert we are beginning to forget what buildings look like, or city streets." The Marines say they are allowing themselves to dream more as the day of combat approaches. What they picture most, apart from loved ones, are fields of snow, green pastures and running rivers. "The quickest way home is by going north [into Kuwait] and that's why we're so eager to start," Sergeant Bowles said. "We will all burst out laughing in sheer relief." His company commander, Capt. Brent Smith, said the "most horrifying thought for any Marine is a second summer in Saudi Arabia. That would be just too much."

Despite last week's fighting in Khafji and near the Kuwaiti border, most Marines' exposure to combat has been their view of allied bombers high overhead. But there are signs the grunts' turn will come soon. Supplies of ammunition and combat rations are being trucked forward. A lawyer is busily making the rounds of units preparing new wills and powers of attorney. Payday came early last month and postal clerks were busy selling money orders for shipment back home. Specialists were checking the unit's NBC (nuclear, biological and chemical) outfits for close fitting and possible defects. Officers began allocating space on the already crowded amphibious assault vehicles called Amtracs. The company has even received last-minute requests from Marines who formerly served in the unit to rejoin for the ground attack.

Most Marines say they have become quieter and more introspective as the day of battle approaches. They have begun writing letters home more frequently in these last days, often attempting to mask the truth from their loved ones by assuring them they are not in a dangerous frontline unit. The mail truck arrives at dusk each evening from the rear and looks of pure dejection flash across the faces of those who don't get letters. Those who do walk off alone into the desert. Many then tear up their letters and bury the pieces in the sand. The troops are instructed not to carry anything with names and addresses or personal information. They might, after all, be taken captive, and should bear nothing that would give enemy interrogators a psychological edge. Some Marines say they have sent photographs of their loved ones home. Others insist they will carry their most valued mementos—without names or addresses—with them into battle. They will carry something else, too: the sharpening of sensation that is unique to going in harm's way.

RAY WILKINSON *in Saudi Arabia*



JOHN FICARA—NEWSWEEK

Predicting victory, Bush with families of the 24th Infantry at Fort Stewart, Ga.

The President's 'Spin' Patrol

How the administration wages its PR war

THE WAR
DESERT STORM

It was the worst news of the war. A dozen Marines (the actual number turned out to be 11) had been killed in action, the first deaths in what could be a bloody ground campaign. Normally, a staff officer would give the daily briefing, but on this afternoon last week, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf appeared before the press. He began by showing a spectacular videotape of smart bombs obliterating their targets, and he described the Iraqi losses overnight as "rather sensational." One video showed a truck traveling across a bridge span that was caught in the cross hairs of an American warplane. "And now, in his rearview mirror," the general dryly noted as the bridge blew apart. Only after 23 minutes of superlatives and confident quips did the U.S. commander cryptically announce that the Marines had lost "12 KIA." The reporters took the bait. On the evening news shows, the bombs-away video got at least equal billing with the dead Marines.

The general's diversionary tactic had been carefully orchestrated. On that morning, like every morning since the war began, White House, Pentagon, State Department and CIA officials had gathered before dawn to plot the "spin" for the day. Administration officials understand that the United States is engaged in a PR war as well as a real one. Saddam Hussein's strategy, they know, is the same one that worked for Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam: to bleed the U.S. military until the American people give up.

The PR model is a political campaign. Every morning, the administration settles on a "message of the day." For instance, when Iraq broadcast pictures of tortured American POWs, the message was "Saddam will be punished for war crimes." White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater tests the message at his late-morning briefings. By refusing to allow in cameras, Fitzwater can experiment with his rhetoric and see how it plays with reporters. The message is then fine-tuned for the later State Department and Pentagon briefings, which are on camera and thus more likely to make the evening news.

Bad news: "Talking points" are faxed almost every day to party leaders, business executives and religious figures friendly to the administration. "Don't forget to mention these points," one memo instructed, "whether it is at a cocktail party or a board meeting." The most effective tools are the videos of high-tech bombs scoring bull's-eyes on Iraqi targets. The images left unseen are just as important. The administration has banned cameras from recording the return of body bags to American bases. If bad news must be aired, the usual military briefers—who tend to be anxious, tight-lipped officers—are pushed aside, and the more confident, expansive senior commanders—Schwarzkopf or Joint Chiefs Chairman Colin Powell—step in.

The chief spinner, of course, is President Bush. On a tour of military bases last week, Bush cheered the families of servicemen by predicting victory. "We are on course. We are on schedule," he said. But he also preached sacrifice. Recognizing that a bloody ground war is inevitable, the president wants to prepare Americans for the cost. His rhetoric in the State of the Union address about the "hard work of freedom" was meant to signal the public that dead soldiers would be coming home soon, possibly in large numbers.

Will Americans be willing to pay the price? "When casualties start mounting, that's when congressional support will start sliding," says Rep. Bill Richardson, Democrat from New Mexico. In the Vietnam War, once the body count climbed above 10,000 in 1967, opponents of the war outnumbered supporters. Some polltakers say that Americans will put up with serious casualties—for a time. "As long as the war is definable, achievable, and is seen as reasonably short, support will stand up," says independent pollster Andrew Kohut. Already there are worrisome divisions. While four out of five Americans back Bush's conduct of the war, only one out of two blacks do. With black political leaders arguing that blacks will do a disproportionate amount of dying, the war threatens to become a divisive racial issue. And though the gender gap closed when the war began, support is fragile among women. Bush's macho talk has offended some. "Women aren't interested in sending their sons and husbands to their deaths because Bush feels the need to kick some ass," says a close adviser to Bush, who has warned the chief executive to tone down his bluster.

The message of sacrifice has not played well in the American electorate for more than a decade. Jimmy Carter was pilloried for preaching the politics of less. Ronald Reagan flew high by promising that Americans could have it all, and the consumer society of the 1980s believed him. Indeed, in some ways the war is a diversion from pressing problems at home. Bush's State of the Union was short on domestic initiatives, and Congress is not likely to fill the void. By staying glued to the latest smart-bomb video on CNN, Americans can conveniently forget the country's yawning federal deficit, escalating crime, dropping SAT scores and deteriorating economy. Only when the images turn to dead GIs will reality set in. For the president's PR machine, the "daily message" could easily get lost in the stark images of combat. The spinmeisters may face a hard choice between showing the true face of war—or opening a credibility gap that could come back to haunt them.

ANN MCDANIEL *and* HOWARD FINEMAN
in Washington

Seeking Haven in Iran

Mystery planes: Why did the Iraqi Air Force flee?

The allies' radar operators stared at their screens in surprise: the cream of Saddam Hussein's Air Force was running for cover into territory it was at war with three years ago. First came a support system—20 transport planes, including Iraq's only surviving radar-defense plane; U.S. intelligence officials suspect they were packed with parts, ammunition, technicians and communications gear. Next, unarmed Iraqi F-1 Mirage fighters, Su-24 long-range bombers and three types of Soviet-built MiG fighters slipped across the border to Iran. In apparent confusion, Iranian aircraft rose to challenge the first fighters. But by last week an Iraqi strike force of 89 planes—more than 10 percent of Saddam's Air Force—was safely parked in orderly formations.

What was Iraq up to? Saddam first demanded the aircraft back, then hinted at a deal: Iran and Iraq, he told CNN, "are two neighboring Muslim countries and ... these facts shall remain the most important." But Iran insisted that the move came as a surprise and that the planes would be mothballed until after the war. Ahmad Khomeini, son of the late ayatollah, accused Saddam of "crimes against Muslims." Saddam sent a diplomat to Teheran—by road—to discuss "issues of common concern."

In the absence of facts about the talks, theories about the flight to Iran abounded. Among them:

■ **Mass defections:** The Soviet news agency Interfax reported that Saddam had executed top Air Force and air-defense officers for their failure to stand up against the allies in the first days of the war. Then Soviet intelligence sources were reported to believe that Saddam's bodyguards thwarted a coup attempt two weeks ago by Air Force officers, provoking a purge and the flight of frontline aircraft. Skeptics said that the orderly pace of the transfer argues against these theories.

■ **Plans for a wider war:** Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens noted that the Su-24 bombers now in Iran are the only Iraqi aircraft capable of reaching Israel without refueling. American intelligence officials suspect that Iran is allowing the deployment as part of a "secret codicil" to an agreement the two countries reached last November. In that agreement, Iran and Iraq agreed to restore diplomatic relations, exchange POWs and move troops from occupied territories. The fear is that Iran also agreed to accept the Iraqi Air Force and allow it to launch a counterattack if Israel enters the war. But senior State Department and Pentagon officials discount any such deal. "If the war is going so badly that Iraq would need to use these planes, would Iran want to get involved at that point?" asked an analyst at State.

■ **Pure necessity:** "We were kicking the crap out of [Saddam's] Air Force, and he didn't want to lose everything," said a top Bush administration official. The official said Saddam had been surprised by the ability of laser-guided "smart" bombs to penetrate his hardened bunkers. Saddam Hussein has used the tactic before—stashing most of his warplanes in Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, North Yemen and Oman during the first years of the Iran-Iraq War. This time it could be a hedge against the possibility that a negotiated end to the war will leave him in power. To retain any regional influence, he needs to be able to project that power.

Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf last week listed all three possibilities, then indicated he didn't much care which one was true. What counted, he said, was that the planes were out of action. If they scrambled, the allies could "take care of that situation." Meanwhile, he suggested, "we should take Iran at its word." His nonchalance was rooted in back-channel diplomacy. Using the Swiss and other intermediaries, the administration had warned Iran that allowing the Iraqi planes to attack from Iran would bring Iran into the war. Within a day, Iran came back with fresh assurances that the planes would be impounded.

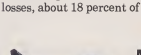
THE WAR
DESERT STORM

Iran was a clear winner. If nothing else, it acquired an Air Force at no charge; its own was shattered by Iraqi raids and Western economic sanctions during the 1980-1988 war. That dovetailed neatly with Iran's own vision of a "new world order" following the war. Iran has for decades sought hegemony in the gulf region. President Hashemi Rafsanjani is using diplomacy to accomplish what Khomeini's expansionism could not. The European Community lifted all economic sanctions in October, French firms are rebuilding Iran's main oil terminal at Kharg Island, relations with the gulf emirates are improving and oil revenues are expected to triple this year. It is potentially a no-lose situation for Teheran. If Iraq is crippled by the war, Iran almost automatically fills the resulting power vacuum in the region. But Rafsanjani is hedging his bets. Iranian leaders denounce both Saddam's aggression and the presence of foreign forces in the region, but are bidding for popular support in Iraq. The Iranian Red Crescent last week began shipping medicine and powdered milk to Baghdad. "Iran will not help Iraq militarily because Teheran's objective now is an alliance with a new Iraq issuing from the war," said Abdul-Karim Abul-Nasr, an editor of the Kuwaiti newspaper Al-Qabas based in Cairo. "That could make Iran the gulf's dominant regional power."

TOM MASLAND *with* DOUGLAS WALLER *and* THOMAS M. DEFRANK *in Washington and* MELINDA LIU *in Riyadh*

Flight of the Intruders

The 89 Iraqi planes that have flown to Iran include some of the most sophisticated in Saddam's Air Force. Including combat losses, about 18 percent of his Air Force is now out of action.



MiG-29: This Soviet-made two-seat fighter is highly maneuverable and has a 700-mile range.



Mirage F-1: Iraq's best air-to-air fighter, this French jet is capable of all-weather attacks at any altitude.



Su-24: A Soviet swing-wing bomber that carries a variety of precision air-to-surface missiles.



Il-76: This is Iraq's only remaining early-warning-radar jet, similar to U.S. AWACS.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY JARED SCHNEIDMAN NOT TO SCALE



SHLOMO ARAD FOR NEWSWEEK

Rescue workers search through the rubble after another missile attack in Tel Aviv

Will Israel Hit Back?

After the Scud attacks, military strategists ponder options for retaliating against Iraq

Will Israel strike back? If so, how? And what can it achieve that the allies can't?

Three weeks into the war, the prospect of retaliation against Iraq for its Scud attacks remains an Israeli fantasy—and an American nightmare. Israel's leadership has heeded the Bush administration's requests to sit out the fight and avoid damaging the fragile U.S.-led coalition. But as the conflict heats up and the threat of a chemical-weapons attack by Saddam continues, sentiment is building among Israeli hawks and even some moderates for a strike. Military strategists have discussed several possible operations, both on the ground and in the air. Some analysts say that Israeli military intelligence, commando experience and willingness to take risks could give Israel an edge the allies don't have. Meanwhile, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has urged Washington not to prevent Israeli air raids by withholding identification codes for American fighter jets over Iraq. (Without such codes, Israeli pilots risk being mistaken for the enemy.) "Saddam Hussein's capability has decreased since the beginning of the war," says Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens. "However, for Israel, this is not enough."

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DESERT STORM

The possibility of reprisal has become a highly sensitive subject in Israel. Military officials will not discuss the matter publicly. Israeli censors refuse to allow the publication of hypothetical scenarios or even issues raised in the Israeli press as recently as last week. From sources in Israel and Washington, however, NEWSWEEK has pieced together some possible options:

Air Attacks. Allied bombers have devoted a third of their missions to knocking out Scud launchers, and it's doubtful that Israeli pilots could stage a more massive operation. But one well-placed U.S. defense analyst with knowledge of the Israeli military says Israel would not send jets out on conventional bombing raids. This source suggests that Israel might airlift commando teams into Iraq along with portable land vehicles to hunt Scuds. These "target designators" would use laser beacons to "paint" the Scuds for attacking—and bombers would drop in for the kill. The U.S. source says that the Israelis would likely have a much more effective system for knocking out the Scuds than the allies have used. Allied pilots frequently arrive at designated targets only to find that Scud launchers have been moved. "If the Israelis had gone after the Scuds, they would have generated more actual attack sorties in a day than the allies could generate in 14 days," says this analyst.

Raid on Baghdad. The Israelis might conduct a risky, Entebbe-style raid on Baghdad. Highly trained commandos from the elite Sayeret Matkal unit could slip into the capital by night to strike human targets. "Moles" working for the Mossad and Iraqi-born Israelis may have blended into Baghdad society to plan a hit on Iraqi officials. An assassination attempt on Saddam Hussein hasn't been completely ruled out, although success seems unlikely. The allies suspect Saddam moves constantly between bunkers and is accompanied around the clock by as many as 700 guards. Says Joseph Alpher, a former Mossad official and current deputy head of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv: "Saddam Hussein is the most hunted man in the world, and he's taking good care of himself."

Unconventional Weapons. There has been speculation in the United States about whether Israel might use its purported nuclear arsenal, said to number about 100 weapons. But according to a top U.S. defense analyst, Israel would turn to its secret arsenal "only if the Iraqis were able to kill lots of people."

The political fallout from any attack on Iraq could outweigh the advantages. Israel's restraint has won the country worldwide sympathy and chits that could give it leverage in postwar negotiations over the Palestinian issue. Last week Germany delivered $670 million in aid, including gas masks and poison-gas antidotes. An assault would undermine that good will and threaten the anti-Saddam coalition. A military failure would be catastrophic, damaging Israeli morale and elevating Saddam's reputation in the Arab world. Even the removal of all Scud launchers in western Iraq could backfire: Iraq might employ longer-range weapons it may have in reserve, including the al-Abbas, another Iraqi-improved Scud under development that has a range of up to 480 miles.

If further Scud attacks hurt or kill Israelis, however, Israeli military leaders may feel that sitting on the sidelines is intolerable. A raid on Iraq, even in the war's closing days, could help the military brass regain the luster they lost by miscalculating Saddam's strength; before Jan. 16, military intelligence assured reporters that Iraq could fire just "one or two missiles" before the rest were obliterated. A raid would also relieve the Army of its frustrating sense of inaction. Restraint "is not part of Israel's security doctrine," says Reuven Pedhatzur, military correspondent for the daily newspaper Haaretz. Even so, given the precarious alliances of the Persian Gulf War, Israel may ultimately decide that the best response is no response at all.

JOSHUA HAMMER *with* DOUGLAS WALLER *in Washington and* JEFFREY BARTHOLET *and* THEODORE STANGER *in Jerusalem*

The Legend of Saddam

His myth may be his most important legacy



ANDY HERNANDEZ FOR NEWSWEEK

A hero's mystique: Youthful supporter at an anti-American demonstration in Amman

Khalid Khawaldi calls himself "the strategist." Sincere and dignified, he waves a hand to indicate the deployments of air force, infantry, cavalry. Here are the Iraqi divisions, there the Americans. *"Inshallah,* victory to Saddam," he proclaims. Then the air force giggles—and the battle of the Zahrat al-Madayen school playground begins. Arms raised as wings, the American planes zoom into action. The fighting is tough, its course chaotic, the casualties high, but the outcome is clear from the start. Khalid, 11, determines the winner, and in this Jordanian schoolyard the Iraqis never lose. "If it was for real," says Loai Muhammad, a 12-year-old picked for the American side, "we'd all have been with Iraq."

More than two weeks into the war, the legend of Saddam Hussein is growing in the Arab world. The symbolism of his Scud missile strikes against Israel and the bravado of his attack on Khafji touch notes of grudging respect even among his enemies. Leaders allied with Washington argue that he has split Arab ranks and brought catastrophe on the region. Makram Mohamed Ahmad, editor of Cairo's weekly al-Mussawar magazine, says the Egyptians know Saddam as "a very bad man, a ruthless dictator, bringing ruin to the Islamic people." But Ahmad also notes that many admire Saddam because he "stood his ground." In a part of the world starved for heroes, where men of rhetoric have been common and men of action rare, the power of Saddam's myth may be his most important legacy, whether or not he survives the war.

THE WAR
DESERT STORM

Saddam's efforts to portray his current struggle as one of Islam against the infidels have paid off in the popular imagination. (The Iraqi president's eight-year war against Iran's fundamentalist Muslim regime is rarely mentioned.) As children race to their mock battles in Amman schoolyards, they call for Saddam to defeat the Americans and Israelis as Saladin defeated the Christians to retake Jerusalem eight centuries ago. "The word 'crusade' is flashing before us," says Kamel Abu Jaber, a Jordanian political scientist. "This is the Middle East. Always there is an interchange between myth and reality." Saddam's zealous message has not been limited to his neighbors. In Borneo, a Muslim realm, 18 Indonesian newborns reportedly were named Saddam Hussein during the first two weeks of the war. In south Lebanon, anyone or anything deemed gutsy or tough is called "Scud."

In Jordan, where the government tries to remain neutral but people in the streets support Saddam, the Iraqi dictator has attained mythical attributes. "I heard that the first rocket that hit Israel—Saddam fired it with his own hands," says Ghada, an 11-year-old girl. Stories of last week's attack on Khafji resonate with imagery from the era of Sinbad and Aladdin. By one account, the town's defenders were caught off guard because each night before the attack the Iraqis sent riderless camels with lights tied to their saddles to wander across the lines and unnerve the Saudi troops.

Outselling Madonna: Saddam has also developed the mystique of a multimedia star. Watching the televised war as if it were a cartoon, Jordanian boys have put Saddam in their pantheon of heroes alongside Sylvester Stallone and the Masters of the Universe. At the pirate cassette shops in the Amman souk, an album of throbbing paeans called "Saddam of the Arabs" is outselling Madonna by a margin of 50 to 1. In the al-Afghani souvenir store, the proprietors have trouble keeping up with orders for Scud key chains and Saddam buttons that declare, among other things, BUSH IS RAMBO II, BUT SADDAM IS TRUE.

Such euphoria could be short-lived. "It's comforting that Scuds are hitting Tel Aviv," says a U.S.-educated Lebanese Shiite, "but we know Saddam is finished, his country is finished and Israel is going to emerge much more powerful from this war. It all has to do with frustration and anger and nothing to do with common sense."

The Iraqi dictator is often compared to Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, the last leader truly to inspire the Arab masses. Until this year, Saddam's claim to Nasser's mantle was read as little more than arrogant pretense. Where Nasser roused the region with his language and personality, Saddam was seen as icy and inarticulate. "He's brutal. He's not the same man as Nasser," says one Jordanian who knows him. Yet "Nasser made expectations so high that he could not meet them," notes Palestinian historian Amin Mahmoud, "so there was a lot of disappointment. [Saddam] did not depend on words, on poetry. He built his popularity gradually. His deeds got him the admiration of the masses."

Saddam's example today—and his legend tomorrow—are direct challenges to many Arab regimes that have been in power for 20 years or more without delivering victories in war or prosperity in peace. "Saddam's standing up to Bush is the catalyst for the acceleration of history in the Middle East," says left-wing Egyptian columnist Mohamed Sayed Ahmed. "We know he will not win the war. What we do not know is whether the removal of one Saddam will create 100 others."

On the playing fields of Amman, there is little doubt. In Jordan, as in most of the Arab world, approximately 60 percent of the population is under 15. "Should Saddam die, there will be a lot more like him who will carry out their duty," says Rima, 11, as she watches her schoolmates. Already, the strategists are emerging.

CHRISTOPHER DICKEY *and* SANA ISSA
in Amman with CAROL BERGER *in Cairo*

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Peter Arnett, From Baghdad

In his first print interview, CNN's controversial reporter defends his role in the propaganda war

THE WAR
HOME FRONT

As the only Western TV reporter in Baghdad straight through since the war began, CNN's Peter Arnett has given the world rare glimpses from inside Iraq. But his reports have also provoked criticism that he and his network are being used as a conduit for Iraqi propaganda. Last week he spoke to NEWSWEEK's Jonathan Alter about his experiences in Iraq and the delicate role of being a journalist in enemy territory. Parts of the interview were monitored by "a gentleman from the Ministry of Information," as Arnett put it. But the CNN reporter was still able to give clear answers to most questions. Asked if he was blindfolded when he was taken to interview Saddam Hussein, Arnett replied, "It's clear that he's very concerned about security, and the term you use would sum it up very aptly." Excerpts:

On operating under Iraqi restrictions: I guess I've been working under restrictions of one kind or another in quite a few places in my life. My most recent assignment for 10 months at a place we call Dixie [Israel] was under restrictions concerning military actions, but no restrictions governing political comment. I guess the best comparison is North Vietnam where I visited in 1972 and we had "minders." They made a point of showing us what they wanted publicized. That is obviously the case here. They are unwilling completely to show us installations that I hear have been hit such as strategic and military installations. But they will show us civilian targets; they want to make sure that this aspect of the bombing is publicized.

Are we conduits for propaganda? It's information. We went to the holy city—they say the third most holy in Islam—three days ago and there were enormous craters in the ground. At first I thought it was a B-52 strike and then I realized it couldn't be. It wasn't that extensive but there were real deep craters, houses gone and about 25 to 26 dead and about 100 wounded. I think that was valid news. Of course, I can't see everything that I'd like to see but I feel that what we do see is adequate as long as I'm cautious enough to frame very carefully the context . . .

It's a tough country to report in the best of times. There's no way we can talk of unfettered coverage here because we know what happened to one Iranian British journalist who tried to be unfettered. [Farzad Bazoft was hanged in March 1990, after being arrested near a military facility.] The restrictions we are working under now are not really any different from those that were restricting journalists before [the war] . . .

There is an enormous amount that I



With Saddam: 'His staff seemed very well

Trying to Get the Story Is a Story of Its Own

Now I know why I haven't had children. It's because later in my life, I don't want some innocent child saying, "Daddy, what did you do in the gulf war?" Because I would have to reply, "Child, I watched it on CNN, from an armchair in a big hotel in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia."

There are more than 700 press people registered with the U.S. military's Joint Information Bureau in Dhahran. No more than about a hundred get anywhere near action at any time. That hundred is divided into a dozen small groups, then chivied, corralled, controlled and censored by press officers, who have virtually no experience of war and even less experience of the press or its needs.

The problems were clear the day the war began. Reporters waiting on the carrier John F. Kennedy to question pilots coming back from the biggest air campaign since World War II were handed a list of suggested questions. The first was, "How do you feel?" At least they got to ask questions. I needed to interview a noncombatant officer stationed 800 yards from my hotel. A JIB officer said no. He had orders: no "unilaterals" (interviews by nonpool individuals). "In fact, as I read it," he said, "you are not allowed to say 'Hi' to a soldier in the street. That would be a unilateral."

That brushoff was at least painless, which wasn't the case for a "quick reaction" pool assembled by the Saudis to report the Khafji battle. One pool left Dhahran in the afternoon and arrived in pitch



Schwarzkopf in Riyadh
JACQUES LANGEVIN—SYGMA



informed. Someone brought up the Super Bowl.'

don't know. We aren't filled in on the military picture; that is a blank to us, and the economy. We hope in the days to come that maybe we can penetrate some of the total curtain that is covering the capability of the military forces. We are reduced here to sort of basically a listening post . . . I think the control is so great that I would not get access to the kind of information that would force me to make a decision [about whether to report a story that might get him expelled].

On his interview with Saddam: When I went to see him, he asked me did I have a list of questions. I [said] no, I was going to ask him questions the world wanted to know. He said fire ahead, so I asked him everything that the average man in the street [couldn't] answer . . . .

His secretary and his chief of staff seemed very well informed about the world. We chatted about American politics, someone brought up the Super Bowl. These men seemed to be fairly well traveled and they talked about seeing CNN. They were more and better informed than I originally thought.

On what the Iraqis are getting from CNN: CNN is really only in the Foreign Ministry, the Information Ministry and the presidency . . . I think it's just a handful [of Iraqis] who have access. In terms of what we have militarily, it surely could be of some assistance to [Saddam]. [But I doubt our coverage] would be critical in determining the outcome of an engagement.

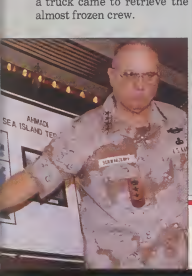
On whether his Iraqi 'minders' have objected to his reports: I would have to say no. For example, I just did an interview on the air with a [visiting American peace activist] and he was expressing great distaste for the American effort here. I expressed the U.S. view that the multinational-force operation was totally justified. The minders didn't have any objection to that. These minders are Ministry of Information officials but actually most of them are newspapermen from the Baghdad Observer, the English-language newspaper. So we actually get along fine: we drink with them, we have dinner with them, they are a very amiable group of sophisticated Iraqis. They aren't, shall we say, a sinister presence. Basically there's very little that I say or do that they can be concerned about—bearing in mind that I don't talk about locations of explosions or I don't give estimates or locations of the extent of the [bomb] damage that we see, which seems to be one of the main stories.

On whether he believes he is being manipulated: It's sort of a game. What is manipulation? I covered the White House in the Reagan era for six months. I was two years in Moscow and it was almost impossible to get a contrary view on communism without going to Jewish refuseniks. Every other Russian I talked to said he loved the place. Was I being manipulated? [The Iraqis] aren't requiring me to report information; I'm not told what to write. I feel that what we are doing is giving a view which is not complete but is helpful, hopefully, for Americans and [people] elsewhere.

On his controversial report of the allied bombing of a baby-food factory: I think that was a mistaken bombing . . . It seems to me that it was an unlikely location for a chemical plant. It was beside a main highway with no security fences around it. [We were able to] walk around it and through it. We took extensive video. I think the U.S. just miscalled it. I didn't argue with Marlin Fitzwater [who said the factory hid a biological- or chemical-weapons facility], but there was no doubt in my mind that it was unlikely to be a supersecret facility . . . I see a lot of other installations around here that are probably less important than a facility of that nature, and the security is incredible. I just cannot conceive [of their having] the limited kind of security that they had if it was such a secret installation. I mean, it's Iraq, why pretend: they can build it underground, they can put it anywhere.

On why the 'baby-formula' signs were in English: I arrived there and they were wheeling a cart out of that baby-food factory with this English product. They

darkness at the entrance to Khafji at 9 that evening. Photographers were given access to the Saudi commander for 10 minutes (a photographer who took pictures of a dead Iraqi was thumped with a rifle). The reporters were then whisked off "to see Iraqi prisoners." Fifteen miles into the desert the bus expired. An hour later a truck came to retrieve the almost frozen crew.



If you've been around a while you yearn for Vietnam, where you could go where you liked and report what you wanted. You even get nostalgic for the good old days in Iraq—when I covered the Iran war I got to the front, got to see the commanding general in the field, even got to talk to Saddam Hussein, whose interpreter almost fainted in trying to devise a polite translation of, "Do you fear assassination?"

I doubt I will get to see even General Schwarzkopf here. If I did, I would ask him why his staff sat on so much information about the war until Saddam's surprise attack on Khafji, which, despite allied persiflage, was an Iraqi thrust deep into a country the allies are here to protect. As soon as the Iraqis were installed and hogging the headlines, the general uncorked a gusher of information. "Stormin' Norman" was least convincing when he dismissed Khafji as a "village." It is in peacetime one of this country's larger cities. It would be like calling Cleveland "a hamlet."

Of course any good reporter wants to see things for himself, which means many a nervous drive around the countryside, talking as fast as a junk-bond salesman to negotiate the roadblocks which have mushroomed since the shooting began. Somebody this week told me I shouldn't complain so much, lest "they" get offended. "They" might even throw me out of the country. So what. I get CNN at home in New York.

TONY CLIFTON *in Dhahran*

said they import the base for their infant-formula preparation [and then] add vitamins and all the rest of the stuff, and it seemed to me they went through the whole procedure. It seemed to make sense to me. In addition they later gave me a detailed document of the overseas companies, American and German, that had been involved with this whole procedure. It was an incredible statement that I haven't been able to use on the air because it is just too detailed. But they've gone out of their way to try to prove that that is exactly what it seems. It's sort of interesting to me that this has become such a big issue and I can't quite understand it.

On whether he is giving aid and comfort to the enemy: I've been feeling that throughout my whole career, starting in the late 1950s in Indonesia when I went with rebel groups. In Vietnam when I was there, my organization, the AP, insisted that we never portray the Viet Cong sympathetically. One of our reporters who had written a story [portraying] the Viet Cong as people, as willing dedicated fighters, actually got a note from the foreign desk saying, hey, they're our enemies. This was early in the war. I later grew to understand that if we had presented the Viet Cong in a proper light from the beginning, maybe we would have had a better assessment of how the war was going. And that's really why I'm here now, because I feel that an assessment is really important. I'm not here to end the war by any means; I'm here to try and figure out what is happening. ■

Does Bloody Footage Lose Wars?

In TV newsrooms last week, producers were asking one another that familiar question: "Will he (or she) cry on camera?" With a dozen Marines dead, it was time for interviews with grieving buddies and families. Over time, such stories strike fear into the heart of any administration trying to prosecute a war. But do weepy or bloody pictures really sap the will to fight? Contrary to the mythology growing out of Vietnam's "living-room war," the answer may be no.

Saddam Hussein and George Bush agree on one thing: the voracious American media will use human-interest stories to prey on the sensibilities of the American people, who are extremely sensitive to casualties. Saddam said as much in meetings with visiting Americans last year; the Bush administration, determined to present as antiseptic a war as possible, has designed its censorship program around preventing access to such stories. Even some reporters agree that an unfettered press would prevent the United States from sustaining a war. Steve Kroft, a "60 Minutes" correspondent, admits to feeling "relieved" by the Pentagon's decision to close Dover Air Force Base to coverage of the arrival of body bags from the gulf. "We can't help ourselves," he says, referring to TV's addiction to emotional pictures.

But if TV can't help itself, perhaps the public can. It doesn't take extraordinary faith in people to believe that they will make their decision about support for a war independent of any pornography of grief they might see on TV. By that standard, the government should be allowed to censor only stories affecting military security, not those that might be inconveniently affecting.



CBS NEWS

Walter Cronkite in Vietnam: Weighing TV's effect

Historically, it has censored both. In World War I, according to Phillip Knightley's "The First Casualty," censorship was so tight that even reports of a gift of wine cases to American troops by the French were deleted for fear of making the Americans look unsavory. In World War II, not only was any negative reporting censored, but no photographs of dead American soldiers were allowed to be published until 1943, more than a year after Pearl Harbor. Reporters covering the Korean War, still very much on the team, actually requested censorship to help them stay on the right side of the authorities. Only the undeclared Vietnam War lacked censorship, though the networks voluntarily avoided airing the goriest shots.

Does that help explain why Vietnam was also the only war the United States lost? Not really. Traditionally, Americans' initial reaction to damage inflicted by the other side is anger, not defeatism. A 1967 NEWSWEEK survey, for instance, found that the vast majority of viewers said the televised images of death actually made them more hawkish on Vietnam. A similar dynamic was at work when the Iraqis displayed mistreated American pilots.

Obviously, large-scale casualties eventually diminish public appetite for war. In the gulf conflict, the deaths may generate reminders of Vietnam that are unhelpful to the war effort. But low tolerance for casualties in fact predates both Vietnam and bloody TV pictures. The popularity of the Korean War dropped in half in just one week after heavy casualties—in an era before TV. Clearly it is the results of war, not the esthetics, that in the long run sway public opinion.

D-Day: Whatever TV's true power, the perception of that power carries great weight. That's why the gulf war restrictions on access to combat (as distinct from censorship as such) are greater than in any previous major war. The military says it cannot accommodate a horde of reporters, but it did during World War II. On D-Day, 558 journalists were accredited to travel with the invasion forces. In all major wars until this one, reporters like Richard Harding Davis and Ernie Pyle mingled freely with troops, who mostly liked the attention.

It may be, as author David Halberstam says, that this country is "extraordinarily ill-prepared emotionally for this war." But if it is—if doubts about the war's purpose, length and human cost come bubbling forth—the explanation will lie a lot deeper than the airing of maudlin, exploitive footage on television.

JONATHAN ALTER

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DOD

Kuwait's Sea Island Terminal after U.S. jets bombed it to limit the Persian Gulf oil slick

How to Design a New 'Energy Strategy'

A 5-point plan from a best-selling oil historian

BY DANIEL YERGIN

The gulf crisis has put energy back at the top of the political agenda. In his State of the Union Message, President Bush indicated that a "comprehensive national energy strategy" will soon be forthcoming. He didn't offer much in the way of specifics. But if Bush's new strategy is to be successful, it will have to address the conditions that made us so vulnerable in the first place to events in the world petroleum market—and to Saddam Hussein's bid to control and dominate the region that holds two thirds of the world's oil reserves. And it will have to avoid the missteps that have characterized new "energy policies" ever since the beginning of the 1970s, when the comfortable energy supply and distribution system built up after World War II began to fall apart.

Daniel Yergin is author of "The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power." He is president of Cambridge Energy Research Associates.

Our most recent "policy" came into effect with the 1986 oil-price collapse. It was simple: import more oil. In fact, it wasn't a policy at all, but the result of inattention and complacency. From 1985 to 1989, imports grew by 63 percent—from 4.9 million barrels a day to 8 million barrels. By 1990, America's dependence on oil imports was back to levels not seen since the late 1970s—and on a course that would have us importing 60 percent or more of all our oil by the end of this decade.

THE WAR
HOME FRONT

The rapid growth in imports resulted from a modest growth in demand, combined with a rapid falloff in domestic U.S. oil production. Between its 1986 peak and last year, America's domestic-oil output fell by 2 million barrels a day. That's greater than the total pre-invasion production of such major oil exporters as Kuwait and Venezuela. It was as though a major oil-exporting country had simply been snuffed out.

Some would say that it doesn't matter how much petroleum the United States imports. Japan and Germany import all their oil and do fine, thank you. But a little perspective is required. Those two countries can finance their oil imports with exports. We can't, at least at this juncture, and rising imports only undercut our efforts to reduce the U.S. trade deficit. The overall volume should also be kept in mind. In absolute terms, the United States imports more oil than Germany and Japan combined. Indeed, the growth alone in U.S. imports between 1986 and 1990 was greater in volume than Germany's total oil consumption today.

The rise in U.S. oil imports was one of the main factors—along with rapid economic growth in the Far East and the fall in Soviet oil production—that were leading to a tighter world oil market even before Kuwait was invaded. Had Saddam waited two years, there would probably not have been a "security margin" of unused production capacity around the world, and the economic impact of his invasion would have been much greater.

Gas lines: Now that the gulf crisis has pushed the question of energy policy forward, there's talk of a need for new initiatives that will "capture the imagination" of the American people. Yet when it comes to energy policy, the record of the "dramatic" is not all that good. In November 1973, just weeks after the Arab oil embargo, President Richard Nixon unveiled Project Independence, with the promise that the United States could, with a vast and expensive program of investment, be independent of foreign energy sources by the year 1980. His advisers told him that it was highly impractical—and it was. The program never came close to meeting its goal. In 1979, as the public fumed about gas lines, the Carter administration came out with a dramatic synthetic-fuels proposal. Ultimately it, too, simply faded away as oil became cheaper again.

The 20-year effort to formulate energy policy offers some important lessons for the future. One is to concentrate on the pragmatic, even if it does not have the drama of a man-in-space program or a Manhattan Project. Another is to resist highly regulated programs, in which the government tries to do the job of the market. The over-regulated programs of the 1970s proved immobilizing, self-defeating and a great

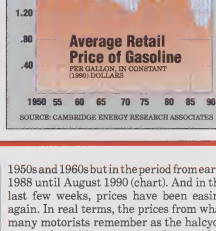


GREG SMITH—SIPA

An American technician working on pipes near an oil-drilling platform located in Texas

Gas: Still Cheap

Before Iraq's invasion, real prices were at their lowest in 40 years.



SOURCE: CAMBRIDGE ENERGY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

waste of time and effort. They did much more for the legal profession than for reducing our dependence on foreign oil.

Perhaps the most important lesson of all is the need for an "ecumenical," rather than a "sectarian," energy policy. By this, I mean a policy that can garner a broad coalition of support. America's energy economy is huge and complex, and the interests involved—of regions, producers and consumers—are often conflicting. In Japan, everybody is in the same boat when it comes to energy. Not so in the United States.

So no one approach will be sufficient. In the past two decades, there has been an endless, almost religious and certainly fruitless struggle over the "correct" approach—production versus conservation, conventional versus renewable sources. Yet if we made any progress in the 1970s and early 1980s, it was thanks to a variety of approaches—gaining 2 million more barrels per day by producing oil from Alaska's North Slope, while saving the equivalent of 2 million barrels per day with automobile fuel-efficiency standards. Without an ecumenical approach, all the wasteful political battles will be waged again, and immobilization will once again be the likely result.

What should be the elements of an ecumenical approach? Here are some starting points:

- Promote the use of natural gas. Supplies are abundant here in North America, and opportunities to expand usage are plentiful, especially if pipeline development is expedited.
- Reignite conservation efforts. It is often said that America "failed" or "gave up" on conservation. That is not true. The record of the American people in this area is impressive. Over the last 15 years, the United States has become 26 percent more energy efficient and 31 percent more oil efficient. Yet the conservation curve has flattened out since the 1986 price collapse, and there is still more room for technological improvements in energy use. One example: utilities' new focus on "demand-side management"—helping their customers become more efficient in their use of electricity.
- Seek to slow the decline in U.S. oil production, in part with financial or tax incentives.
- Pursue a diversified program of research and development, looking at everything from renewable energy sources to a "second generation" of newly designed nuclear reactors.
- Develop more consistency in government policies—environmental as well as energy—so that companies can confidently make long-term energy investments.

This would not be a big-ticket, expensive program. Still, it raises the contentious issue of energy economics. Some domestic producers and conservation advocates favor a tariff on imported oil, arguing that cheap and uncertain prices undercut investment in new energy sources. Others would like to raise the gasoline tax by 25 to 50 cents a gallon over some specified time period—and spend the proceeds on the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, research and development, and stimulating conservation and domestic energy production. The tariff proposal is sure to draw cries of protectionism, and voters will reflexively reject any proposals for new taxes.

Yet here, too, perspective helps. Right now, the tax on U.S. gasoline is only about one tenth of the average in major Western European countries. Motorists in Germany pay $3.48 for a gallon of gasoline; in Japan, $3.85; in France, $4.47, and in Italy, $5.26! Moreover, gasoline in America is not only cheap but has actually gotten cheaper. On an inflation-adjusted basis, the least expensive gasoline that the American motorist has seen since World War II was not in the 1950s and 1960s but in the period from early 1988 until August 1990 (chart). And in the last few weeks, prices have been easing again. In real terms, the prices from what many motorists remember as the halcyon days of the 1950s and early 1960s would be around $1.40 to $1.50 per gallon today.

There are other obstacles to a consensus on energy policy today. In the 1970s, the biggest confrontations were over price—between producers and consumers, and between regulators and the free market. The central clash in the 1990s will be different—between preserving the environment and meeting the energy requirements of our economy. The question is, will this conflict be resolved only on a case-by-case basis, the outcome depending on the constellation of political forces and passions at any given time? Or can we find some overall framework for resolving these disputes?

Churchill's answer: We need to learn a fundamental lesson that was apparent long before the oil shocks of the 1970s. It is a precept that Winston Churchill enunciated some 78 years ago, on the eve of World War I, when he converted the British Navy's fuel from coal to oil in order to gain four knots in speed over the German Navy. Churchill knew he was running a great risk, for Britain did not produce oil. The Royal Navy would depend not on safe, secure Welsh coal, but on oil from distant Persia, riven even then by conflict between the mullahs, the modernizers and the shah of the day. Churchill's answer to this security problem? Diversification. "On no one quality, on no one process, on no one country, on no one route and on no one field must we be dependent. . . ," he declared. "Safety and certainty in oil lie in variety and variety alone."

The case for diversification in energy was overwhelming at the beginning of the 20th century—and the gulf crisis shows that it is even more vital as we head into the next century. ■

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Ford

Ancient Theory and Modern War

'The old theologians knew what they were talking about'

THE WAR HOME FRONT

The war in the gulf is not a Christian war, a Jewish war or a Muslim war. It is a just war.
—GEORGE BUSH, to the National Religious Broadcasters Convention last week

One unexpected result of the Persian Gulf War has been the revival of just-war reasoning. The notion that some wars might be morally justified was an early casualty of the war in Vietnam. It is still rejected by advocates of principled nonviolence. But throughout the public debate that preceded the onset of hostilities in January, both advocates and opponents of war resorted—at least implicitly—to the distinctions and categories of just-war thinking. "The language of just-war theory is inevitable," says political philosopher Michael Walzer of Princeton's Institute for Advanced Studies. "You can't send soldiers into battle or order them to kill without being able to justify those actions in moral terms—to yourself, to fellow citizens and to the world."

In origin and inspiration, just-war reasoning is essentially religious, usually Christian. Its main concepts were formulated in the fourth century by Saint Augustine, who sought to reconcile the Christian commandment to "love your neighbor as yourself" with the soldier's duty to kill. Augustine's theories were given greater precision by Saint Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century, when chivalry still governed the waging of battles, and refined by 17th-century Spanish theologians, who aimed to limit rather than justify the war-making powers of the emerging nation-states. After World War I with its introduction of air raids on civilian targets, many just-war principles were woven into international law. "It's a complicated theory," says Stanley Hoffmann, an expert on international relations at Harvard University, "but the old theologians knew what they were talking about."

In its classic form, just-war thinking focuses on both the purpose and the conduct of war. For a war to be just, it must be declared by a legitimate authority. The cause must be just. It must be fought with the right intentions, in a proper manner and only as a last resort. Wars of aggression are always immoral. But along with defensive wars, modern just-war theories allow wars on behalf of helpless third parties and those designed to combat grave threats to the international order.

Does the war in the gulf satisfy these criteria? For Father J. Brian Hehir, professor of ethics and international politics at Georgetown University, some of the original justifications for fighting Iraq—notably maintaining the West's access to cheap oil—would not pass inspection. But Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait and subsequent violations of human rights there, Hehir says, satisfy the just-cause criterion. More problematic is the category of last resort. Hehir argues that the economic sanctions against Iraq should have been given a longer chance to work. But Walzer believes that the United States did all it reasonably could to avoid war through sanctions and negotiations. In any case, he finds the notion of "last resort" intellectually unhelpful: "You never really reach the point of last resort, because you can always call another conference." Once the United States backed up negotiations with a plausible threat to fight, he believes, the president had little choice but to go ahead when the deadline was reached.



ALLAN TANNENBAUM—SYGMA

A Marine killed in a gulf training mission is buried in New York

Now that the war is on, just-war theory dictates that citizens monitor and make ethical judgments on the conduct of the combat. A war for a just cause still may be fought by unjust means—and often has been. A classic case in point is the indiscriminate Allied firebombing of Dresden during World War II, which made no effort to distinguish military from civilian targets. By contrast, Walzer observes, the allied air forces in Kuwait have been instructed to return with their bomb loads if they have been unable to attack their designated targets. Walzer suggests that this evident—and militarily risky—effort to avoid civilian casualties is a decided moral improvement over tactics used in Vietnam—and demonstrates, he thinks, the value of ethics courses taught at the nation's military academies.

Just-war theory also sets limits on warfare. The means must be proportional to the ends. It may be hard for allied conduct in the gulf to satisfy this demand. Once started, wars tend to escalate. By what calculus, Walzer asks, can anyone fix a "just" proportion between the number of people killed in battle and the value of liberating Kuwait? How many lives may be taken in pursuit of the principle of collective security or a stable international order? And what if the war widens to the whole Middle East? The number of casualties would increase well beyond the original scope of freeing Kuwait and destroying Saddam's war-making capabilities. At what point would a just war then become unjust?

The purely pragmatic mind shrinks from questions like these. Perhaps they indicate the folly of trying to think morally about war, especially against an aggressor who is not bothered by just-war principles. But the alternative is to leave war to the generals—or never to wage war at all.

KENNETH L. WOODWARD

Toppling the Last Pillars

De Klerk pledges an end to racial classification, angering the right and leaving blacks dissatisfied

The annual opening session of South Africa's racially segregated Parliament last week may be remembered as the day apartheid was buried for good. In a dramatic address, President F. W. de Klerk promised to topple all remaining pillars of apartheid legislation, including a key law that requires classification of all South Africans on the basis of skin color. Horrified rightist Afrikaner legislators heckled him with cries of "traitor" and "hangman"; many stalked out in protest. But de Klerk pressed on. "The goal, with the removal of discrimination, is to give all South Africans full rights in every sphere of life," the president said. "South Africa cannot allow the dynamic process of reform to slow down."

For nine years, South Africa's ruling white minority has been groping for a political formula to end the country's international isolation and avoid a racial civil war—without sacrificing what whites consider their vital interests. De Klerk's predecessor, P. W. Botha, tried palliatives that only succeeded in highlighting the need for real change. De Klerk has gone much further, agreeing to release imprisoned black nationalist Nelson Mandela and to open talks with black leaders on the country's political future. Last week South Africans were expecting him to announce the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts, which restrict where blacks can live and own property. But de Klerk did more: by proposing to repeal the Population Registration Act, under which all South Africans are classified by rigid racial categories, he sought to remove the remaining legal and ideological underpinnings of apartheid. There is now no way to escape rewriting the political and social rules that govern the country. "From that moment onwards there will be no black or white South Africans," observed Jan van Eck of the opposition Democratic Party. "There will be only South Africans."



BURGER—AP

Burying apartheid: *De Klerk addressing Parliament*

To the Bush administration, de Klerk's speech was further evidence that its own policy toward South Africa was working. "It's the equivalent of the fall of the Berlin wall," said a State Department official. The scrapping of the Group Areas and Population Registration acts is among five conditions laid down by Congress which must be met before U.S. economic sanctions against South Africa can be eased. During de Klerk's visit to Washington last September President Bush described the process of political change in South Africa as "irreversible" and voiced his support for removing sanctions at the first available opportunity. As of last week, Pretoria had already fulfilled three of those conditions—lifting the state of emergency, legalizing the African National Congress and opening talks with black lead-



'We still have no votes': *Marchers in Cape Town*



DENIS FARRELL—AP

demand an interim multiracial government



BURGER—AP

Protest: *Conservative leader Andries Treurnicht leads a walkout from Parliament*

ers. The lifting of U.S. trade restrictions is months away; the sanctions law says that de Klerk must still release all of the country's political prisoners, estimated to number between 600 and 3,000, and that is not likely to happen before the end of April. At that point Bush may decide, in consultation with Congress, to lift one or more of the sanctions to show support for de Klerk.

Repressive laws: Radical as the new proposals seemed to recalcitrant Afrikaners, de Klerk's speech didn't go far enough for antiapartheid forces. The ANC and other critics noted the absence of any detailed plans to repatriate 40,000 political exiles or to disband the discredited network of black town councils. And de Klerk ignored longstanding demands for the repeal of the country's repressive security laws, which give the police and military sweeping powers to detain political suspects.

Indeed, de Klerk seemed to be positioning his government for tough bargaining ahead over a new constitution. He dismissed the ANC's demand that he hand over power to an interim government while negotiations are underway. He also rejected an ANC proposal for an elected assembly to draft a new political charter. That, too, angered black activists. "We still have no votes," Mandela said at a news conference. "We can't be members of Parliament. The police are still harassing, persecuting, even killing our people, and the government will not bring them to book." Last week the ANC launched a "mass action" campaign of consumer boycotts, one-day labor stoppages and other organized protests to back up its demands for an interim government and one person, one vote elections to choose a constituent assembly.

But the ANC has problems of its own. It failed to anticipate the eruption of black-on-black violence in townships outside Johannesburg in August, leaving its followers unprotected against armed groups of Zulus who back the rival Inkatha. A membership-recruitment drive aimed at signing up 1 million dues-paying supporters by the end of 1990 stalled at around 300,000. The ANC leadership's decision to suspend "armed struggle" alienated militant township youths. Mandela's triumphant 10-day U.S. tour brought in an estimated $5 million in pledges—but as of November not one penny had arrived in the ANC's coffers. Thus de Klerk will have little incentive to meet ANC demands until the group can pull itself together—and end its blood feud with Inkatha, which now seems assured of a seat at the table when talks on a new Constitution begin later this year. To achieve that, Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi met last week for the first time in three decades, agreeing to tour jointly some of the black townships hardest hit by the violence that cost 3,400 blacks their lives last year.

The new spirit of tolerance lasted less than a day. Police in Natal province reported that at least 10 people died when hundreds of armed Inkatha supporters attacked the homes of suspected ANC sympathizers in the coastal town of Umgababa. The incident showed how difficult it has become for Mandela and

Buthelezi to make their policies fit the increasingly restive mood on both sides. The ANC's "mass action" campaign, designed largely to satisfy militant younger members, annoyed Inkatha. The group's members say that a similar campaign last year targeted Buthelezi and the Zulu homeland he heads—and many blacks will resist any attempt to coerce them into supporting the ANC tactics. Such tensions may explain the other incident of black-on-black violence last week: unidentified assailants threw more than a dozen ANC supporters off a commuter train near a station in Soweto, killing one person and injuring 10.

South Africa's whites, too, were fighting one another in the streets. Thousands of white farmers rolled into Pretoria on tractors and heavy trucks to protest the upcoming repeal of the Land Acts. Those laws set aside 87 percent of the country's available land for the white minority; rural Afrikaners, deeply indebted and feeling betrayed by de Klerk, resorted to civil disobedience of their own. As an attention-getting device the protest achieved its goal, but the white right poses remarkably little threat to de Klerk. Polls show that de Klerk's popularity is rising among whites as they grow accustomed to the notion that minority rule in South Africa is on its way out.



WALTER DHLADLA—AFP

The spirit of tolerance was short-lived: *Buthelezi (left) meets with Mandela in Durban*

De Klerk has fended off the rightist challenge by convincing many whites that he can best protect their interests in the upcoming talks over a new constitution by safeguarding their rights as individuals instead of as a racial group. But that implicit commitment may create problems for de Klerk in his dealings with black leaders. Last month Mandela said the ANC supported an "all-party congress" that would bring together all the country's representative political forces to work out a bill of rights and other broad principles that might provide the cornerstones for a new constitution. In his address to Parliament de Klerk echoed the proposal for a multiparty conference. But by rejecting a constituent assembly elected on a one person, one vote basis, de Klerk has set his government on a collision course with the ANC.

That is the stuff of negotiation among competing political forces. But an inflexible stance by Pretoria in the forthcoming talks could pose a threat to a peaceful transition in South Africa. De Klerk may succeed in outflanking the ANC by securing the opposition of Inkatha and white liberal forces to the idea of an elected constituent assembly, since such a body would enable the ANC to virtually dictate the terms of a new political charter. But a de Klerk victory on that tactical issue might also inflame black militants, making it impossible for Mandela to stick to his relatively moderate line. "De Klerk seems to show no understanding that negotiations won't succeed unless grass-roots blacks feel they provide concrete benefits for them," cautions the Democratic Party's van Eck. "And if they don't feel that, they will turn against the process of negotiations." With admirable speed, de Klerk is now on the verge of fulfilling his pledge to eradicate the worst legacies of his political forebears—but if he tries to impose his vision of a "new South Africa" from above, he runs the risk of undermining the democratic future he is trying to achieve.

JOSEPH CONTRERAS *in Cape Town with* JANE WHITMORE *in Washington*

Winnie Mandela Faces Her Toughest Trial

One of Winnie Mandela's given names, Nomzamo, means "going through trials." This week the wife of the African National Congress leader will face perhaps the sternest trial of her life: entering a Johannesburg courtroom as one of eight defendants charged with the kidnapping and assault of four Soweto youths in December 1988. Suspected of being police informants, the youngsters allegedly were abducted and beaten by a gang of local toughs known as the Mandela United Football Club. The men worked as Mrs. Mandela's bodyguards; one of the kidnap victims, 14-year-old "Stompie" Mokhetsi, died from his injuries. The soccer club's "coach," Jerry Richardson, was found guilty of murder last year and sentenced to death.

When the Johannesburg attorney general decided to prosecute Mrs. Mandela last September, she publicly welcomed the indictment as a chance to clear her name. Defense attorneys obtained a postponement of the trial, but two weeks ago the ANC charged that the trial had been scheduled for February for political reasons. Nelson Mandela is expected to accompany his wife to court—and if the trial lasts several weeks, as expected, his attendance could slow down the timetable for starting talks on a new constitution.

Police disclosed last week that four of Mrs. Mandela's codefendants skipped bail in December; their whereabouts are unknown. But their disappearance is not expected to delay the trial, which dozens of journalists from Fleet Street and elsewhere are jetting in to cover. If convicted of kidnapping, Mrs. Mandela could theoretically be sentenced to death. But with so much riding on talks between her husband's ANC and the government, Pretoria may well grant her a presidential pardon if she is found guilty.



MARK PETERS FOR NEWSWEEK

Indicted: *The defendant*

Soldiers on the Streets

The Soviet president tightens his hold

Mikhail Gorbachev seemed to bring his Baltics crackdown to the rest of the Soviet Union last week. In one decree, he gave the KGB virtually unlimited power to search Soviet business offices and seize funds and documents—a move widely seen as an assault on private enterprise. On his orders, Soviet troops began helping police to patrol the streets of Moscow and other cities. Soviet Interior Minister Boris Pugo said the soldiers were there "to combat hooliganism and other criminal offenses—and nothing else." Few took such assurances at face value. "I'm against this," said Soviet Army Maj. Viktor Veprevsky as he led two young draftees on a joint patrol with Moscow police. "This isn't directed at crime. It's directed at things like demonstrations."

Gorbachev's authoritarian stance has dismayed those who once supported him, and his decision to put military patrols on city streets was especially alarming. Many saw it as a possible prelude to martial law, perhaps like Poland in the early 1980s. In an interview with NEWSWEEK, Yuri Golik—a rising, tough-minded legislator whom Gorbachev named last week to head a new law-and-order commission in the Kremlin—dismissed such fears as "just panicky talk." Whatever the case, Gorbachev seemed to be dismantling reforms on all fronts. The decree giving the KGB a hunting license against private business, said Artyom Tarasov, a progressive deputy in the Soviet Parliament, "virtually liquidated the free market in the Soviet Union." PERESTROIKA IS FINISHED, lamented a headline in the weekly Moscow News.

The grim turn of events in the Soviet Union particularly alarmed George Bush. Much as he deplored Gorbachev's crackdown, he was reluctant to sound too critical for fear of losing Moscow's support in the gulf war. Last week Bush and Gorbachev found a way to limit the damage: they agreed to postpone their summit meeting, originally scheduled for Moscow next week, without citing the Baltics as an issue. Instead, they blamed Bush's need to remain in Washington during the gulf war, and last-minute delays in readying the START treaty on reducing strategic arms.

Meanwhile, fears of a military takeover in the Baltics eased somewhat. Gorbachev agreed to withdraw Soviet troops deployed there in January, and named commissions to begin a "discussion of issues" with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Baltic leaders greeted the discussion plan with skepticism. Lithuania's President Vytautas Landsbergis said the Kremlin's continued disregard of his republic's proclamation of independence "is not a sign of good will." Gorbachev's conciliatory move may help placate Western opinion, however, and could lower the temperature in the Baltics by providing a forum for talks.

None of that stilled the anger against Gorbachev in the Soviet Union. Boris Yeltsin, the populist hero and president of the Russian Federation, pressed the attack. At a rally in a Moscow suburb last week, Yeltsin denounced Gorbachev's recent actions as "serious moves toward dictatorship." He drew thunderous cheers by calling for a national referendum that would subject the Soviet president to "a vote of confidence"—a challenge Gorbachev seemed unlikely to accept.

Gorbachev denied that military patrols on the streets signaled a hard new line in the Kremlin. "Neither domestic nor foreign policy has undergone changes," he declared. "It all remains intact." Some in Moscow believed Gorbachev deployed the patrols as insurance against unrest. By one unconfirmed account, attributed to retired conservative Communist leader Yegor Ligachev, the crumbling economy could force key Soviet factories to exhaust supplies and shut down, touching off mass strikes by disgruntled workers. Others suggested the troops' purpose was to contain consumer protests. Said the weekly Soviet business newspaper Kommersant: "A large-scale price rise may be implemented in early February, and mass unrest could ensue."

'No alternative': Can Gorbachev's reforms survive? Many analysts believe that Gorbachev unleashed too many new forces to rein in again: rambunctious political parties, would-be capitalists, a freewheeling press, rebellious ethnic groups. Stalin, the Brezhnev era of "stagnation" and even the Communist Party itself were discredited. Eastern Europe was set free. The genie of democracy was let out of the bottle. Though conservatives want to stuff the genie back in, Gorbachev insists that "there is no alternative to *perestroika*." But to Gorbachev, perestroika now means maintaining the status quo rather than pursuing reforms. Whether the rollback is permanent or only a temporary tactical maneuver remains to be seen. But the sight of soldiers on the streets gave Soviets little cause for optimism.

ANGUS DEMING *with* FRED COLEMAN *and* CARROLL BOGERT *in Moscow*



PITSYN—NOVOSTI-AP

'Perestroika is finished': *Troops and police on patrol in Moscow, Yeltsin at a rally*



VICTOR YURCHENKO—NEWSWEEK

Travelers Run for Cover

War and fears of terrorism are devastating the airline and hotel business



LESTER SLOAN—NEWSWEEK

As underworked as the Maytag man: *A redcap awaits travelers at Los Angeles International Airport*

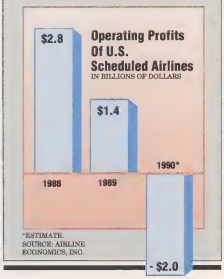
The weather in Tarrytown, N.Y., is cold and rainy. But tourism official Paul Zar is clad in his native dress—a pair of yellow Bermuda shorts. As North American sales director for Bermuda's Department of Tourism, Zar is on an important mission: to convince skittish tourists that it is safe to come to Bermuda despite the gulf war. "It's not easy for me to stand in front of an audience with short pants," the bare-kneed Zar told an audience of some 300 area travel agents gathered at a local Marriott Hotel last week. "But I am here to tell you that your clients will be safer in Bermuda than anywhere else on the globe. [It's] just the place to delude yourself into thinking that the world is good."

For the travel industry these days, the world is anything but good. Already reeling from a deepening recession and mercurial fluctuations in oil prices, it has now been dealt a third blow: the threat of terrorism. International travel, especially to Europe, is down by as much as 50 percent and even domestic flights are taking off with fewer seats filled. Hotel lobbies in places as far away from the gulf as Hawaii have become ghost towns. Because of the scare, Los Angeles-based Crystal Cruises has canceled its schedule of European sailings and headed for safer ports. Troubled Trans World Airlines has cut its overseas service by half and delayed a $75.5 million bond payment to stay aloft. At some airports, baggage handlers have become as underused as the Maytag repairman. "We're seeing tremendous cancellations and no bookings for the summer," says Susan Tanzman-Kaplan, owner of Martin's Travel and Tours in Los Angeles. "It's as if people are in a trance."

Nose dive: Even before the bombs began to fall on Baghdad, the travel industry was already feeling the shrapnel. Jet-fuel prices soared after Saddam Hussein's Army invaded Kuwait last August—a development that contributed to a record estimated loss of $2 billion for the airline industry for 1990 (chart). At the same time, the economic slowdown chilled consumer confidence and began to keep both business and leisure travelers grounded. Then came Operation

Unfriendly Skies

Airline earnings have nose-dived from 1988's $2.8 billion peak to an estimated $2 billion loss in 1990.



Desert Storm—and the travel downturn went into a full-scale nose dive. Since then, jet-fuel prices have eased, but passenger demand has continued to evaporate. "People don't want to go anywhere," says Pan Am spokesman Jeffrey Kriendler. "They just want to watch the war on TV."

From Tarrytown to Tokyo, travelers seem paralyzed by fear. "They're even canceling trips to the Bahamas," says Manhattan travel agent Carmela D'Alessandro. In Japan, many groups are temporarily postponing departures to America. In St. Louis, the local symphony orchestra canceled this month's 16-city European tour. And in London, the occupancy rate at Claridge's, a hotel popular among Americans, was less than 40 percent this January, compared with 55 percent last year. Even those still traveling domestically worry about the possibility of violence. "The first terrorist attack and I'm grounded," says Mary Ellen Farrelly, a New York securities trader.

Companies are holding back on travel, too. At American Express's Travel Services Group, international business travel is off close to 25 percent, according to president Roger Ballou. Corporations that were already scrutinizing travel and entertainment spending for recessionary reasons are redoubling their efforts in the name of safety. They are postponing meetings and limiting travel to essential trips only—and even those require high-level authorizations. Corning Inc. recently canceled an annual meeting of 250 managers, opting to distribute videotapes and written materials instead. Chrysler Corp. is putting the lid on as much employee travel as possible. Says spokesman James Kenyon: [Our policy is] "if you don't have to be there, if you don't have to travel, don't go."

Airlines have been the first economic casualty of the travel bust. Since the gulf crisis began, two carriers—Continental and Pan Am—have filed for bankruptcy protection under chapter 11. Just days after war broke out, Eastern Air Lines, already in bankruptcy proceedings, shut down. TWA has been hinting that its future hangs in the balance, as well. The airline has experienced a 60 percent drop in bookings over the last year. In response, it has suspended flights to some of its overseas destinations and said it will furlough approximately 2,500 employees. In a statement announcing last week's bond postponement, TWA chairman Carl Icahn painted a grim picture. "It is now apparent that due to the war, summer-vacation travel will be at its lowest level in decades."

Icahn isn't the only one fretting. Even relatively healthy carriers say the forces of war and recession could erode their bottom lines, producing losses greater than last year's. American Airlines, which normally has about half its seats on transatlantic flights occupied during January, filled only about one third of them last month. Concern over the war has even fuzzed the outlook for aircraft makers. Though the Boeing Co. announced strong fourth-quarter earnings last week, its stock price tumbled, partially on the fear of a declining demand for new aircraft. Robert J. Aaronson, president of the Air Transport Association, a trade group, predicts that if the current climate persists, some carriers could wind up parked at the gate forever. "Conditions could get bad enough that the airlines will no longer be a viable business."

Still, the travel industry isn't just giving up. "Hotels, carrental companies and airlines are aggressively finding ways to tempt the increasingly scarce traveler," says David C. Silver, an analyst for Duff & Phelps. The Red Roof Inn, a budget lodging chain, is offering a $5 rebate on the nightly cost of a room ("Stay at Red Roof Inn and drive off with a brand new Lincoln"). Marriott Corp.'s hotels are awarding triple frequent-flier points through a number of airlines.

With fewer travelers willing to venture across the Atlantic, agents are pitching nearby destinations. San Francisco-based Royal Cruise Line has rerouted its Golden Odyssey Mediterranean cruise. Its new ports of call include Mexico, Alaska, the Caribbean—and that last great war zone, the Panama Canal. "People are going to travel, they're just going to stay closer to home," says American Society of Travel Agents president Philip Davidoff.

Teleconferencing boom: In the meantime, what's bad news for the travel industry is becoming good news for others. With many executives grounded, interest in video-conferencing—which supplies a TV image and sound via phone lines—has soared. Compression Labs, a video communications company in California, reports a 30 percent increase in inquiries since the war began. Both AT&T and US Sprint say use of videoconferencing links has at least doubled.

Demand for security equipment and services is also reaching new highs. Security Defense Systems Corp., a New Jersey-based maker of screening machines and metal detectors, has found its customers so eager for service that it has had to man delivery trucks with technicians. Pinkerton Security & Investigation Services is busy furnishing bodyguards for travelers who won't or can't stay home. Even some in the travel industry won't suffer a wartime slump. The Jerusalem and Tel Aviv Hiltons, now home to journalists, military personnel and diplomats, may be among the few hotels these days that end the year in good shape. Since the war began on Jan. 16, they've been booked to capacity.



PATA—SIPA

Stepped-up security: *Dogs sniff suitcases at Paris's Orly Airport*



LISL DENNIS—IMAGE BANK

Room at the inn: *At Claridge's, occupancy is down*

ANNETTA MILLER *and* DODY TSIANTAR
in New York with EMILY YOFFE *in Los Angeles and bureau reports*

Defense: Still an Iffy Bet

Contractors go to war

Day after day of pinpoint targeting has given the U.S. defense industry something it's seen little of in recent years: respect. Images of $600 hammers and faulty weapons have dissipated, replaced by a perception that high-tech war works after all. "We knew we were right in our heart," says Frank Thompson, head of General Dynamics' Tomahawk cruise-missile program. The market has thought so, too, sending defense stocks soaring since the war began. In Congress, some members are already envisioning lobbying for votes simply by showing footage of direct hits. Says GOP Rep. Newt Gingrich, "If we had shrunk defense spending now, the way it's projected, Saddam Hussein would win."

But will the gulf war prove a bonanza for defense contractors? Not likely, experts agree. A few companies may pick up new contracts, but overall spending will drop sharply. This war is being fought almost entirely out of inventory, with little apparent need to replenish weapons. The budget deficit and the end of the cold war translated into a firm agreement last year to cut real defense spending by 25 percent over five years. Consider this from a General Dynamics executive: even if all the tanks and planes in the gulf were destroyed, it would amount to only half of the weaponry slated for mothballs by 1995.

If the war won't reverse the downward spending trend, it will help determine how dwindling defense funds are doled out. Given that procurement is a morass of pork-barrel politics and interservice rivalries, here are some factors that may shape the prospects for top U.S. contractors:

High-Tech Wonders. A joke is going around Washington these days: "Why did those Pentagon toilet seats cost $640? They had top-secret radar guidance and laser designators." With money tight, the betting is that funding will shift more and more toward high-tech "smart" weapons and electronics rather than new jets and tanks, known in defense circles as platforms. Says a Martin Marietta executive, "The smarter the weapons get, the dumber at least some of the platforms can be." The apparent success of such weapons as Texas Instruments' Paveway laser-guided bomb—seen graphically in military videos—is its own best sales pitch. Another case in point is a new "fire and forget" missile under development by Hughes. Defense planners are talking about installing the sophisticated system even on Boeing 737 airframes.

Combat Performance. For some weapons, the gulf war represents a first live test after years of development. Chicago-based FMC Corp. built more than 5,000 of the Bradley M2 fighting vehicle during the 1980s. The Pentagon is now considering ordering 1,200 more, a contract that could be worth nearly $1 billion through 1994. The war will give the Bradley a chance to counter criticism that its aluminum shell limits its ability to survive on the battlefield. Similarly, the fate of McDonnell Douglas's Apache helicopter, an $11.7 million high-tech wonder that has been surrounded by maintenance problems, is at stake. Some weapons may have already passed the grade. Lockheed's F-117A Stealth fighter has performed so ably that some analysts think the military may order 20 to 30 more.

The Star Wars Factor. The accuracy of Patriot missiles in knocking down Iraqi Scuds is already boosting interest in defensive antiballistic-missile systems. Congressional officials say President Bush is proposing $4.6 billion for the Star Wars program in 1992. Firms that make the satellites and missiles for these systems are understandably pleased. Says Lockheed's Mel Brashears, "Offensive overkill is a fine way to deter when you're looking at someone who thinks like you—the Soviets. But when you look at other parts of the world . . . prudent investment in theater defense makes a lot of sense." Yet as successful as the Patriots are, debris from hit Scuds can cause ground damage. So expect more funding for a device that gets to incoming missiles sooner—possibly, a high-velocity electromagnetic-gun technology under development by Westinghouse and General Electric.

The Superpower Relationship. President Bush could safely cut military spending as long as the cold war was thawing. Now signs the Soviet Union may be sliding back toward totalitarianism could provoke a new U.S. buildup. But don't count on it. Some analysts predict the accuracy of weapons in the gulf will convince the superpowers to strengthen arms-control measures, even if the Kremlin cracks down at home. So war videos or not, it looks like defense firms have a wobbly trajectory ahead.

LARRY REIBSTEIN *with* RICH THOMAS
in Washington and bureau reports



MARTY KATZ

A tilt toward high-tech 'smart' weapons: *Inspecting a Patriot missile at Martin Marietta*

Bidding Warriors

Desert Storm may have sent defense stocks soaring, but major firms will still face uncertainty and stiff competition after the war.

Raytheon Co. Makes electronics for the Patriot missile. Pentagon has asked for speedup in Patriot production, but placed no new orders.

Martin Marietta Corp. Makes Patriot frame. Profits up, despite delay in key air-defense-system contract.

General Dynamics Corp. Makes Tomahawk cruise missile, F-16 fighter and M-1A1 tank, but hit hard by cancellation of A-12 attack plane.

McDonnell Douglas Corp. Makes F-15 and F/A-18 fighters. Waiting to see how AH-64 helicopter performs.

Lockheed Corp. Makes F-117A Stealth fighter; vying for contract for the Advanced Tactical Fighter.

JANE BRYANT QUINN

Mugwump Investing



The risks of war and the economy say this isn't the moment to be a hero

The markets have all but dismissed the war and are contemplating peace. But as far as investments are concerned, this is no time to be a hero. Even Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, fears the outlook will cloud if the war drags on for more than three months. So prudence suggests that you take the mugwumps as your guide (those with their mugs on one side of the fence and their wumps on the other). The cost of this war will be wrung from the civilian economy, with unknown effects on future growth.

The budget compromise last fall committed the country to billions of dollars in defense cuts. Regrettably, with the first bomb on Baghdad, that deal was blown. Even more regrettably, military spending has almost no effect on long-term economic growth, according to studies by economist David Aschauer of Bates College in Maine.

To stimulate the economy, the government should be pouring its money into dams, bridges, ports and roads. Every dollar spent on infrastructure, Aschauer says, adds $4 to national output within four or five years because it helps business operate more efficiently. To the extent that war eats up any of these funds, the nation's potential for growth will have been set back.

Among investors, interest rates are being watched as closely as bulletins from the front. "We need much lower rates to have a sustainable recovery," says Hugh Johnson, a senior vice president at First Albany Corp. Without them, any pickup may flame out. Rates dropped last week, raising the hope that the downturn is now in the process of being arrested.

It's a hoot: This view brings hoots of derision from the bears, who argue that the real-estate bust, loan defaults, tightfisted bank lending and plunging consumer confidence will carry the economy and interest rates down all year. Which reminds me that there are only two kinds of investors: those who don't know where interest rates are going, and those who don't know that they don't know.

Happily, mugwump investors needn't buy either the bullish or the bearish case. They readily prepare for both. This year, at least, the potential losses in being wrong may be greater by far than the reward for being right.

The haven of choice is Treasury securities, both for fear of stocks and for fear of banks. By last year's third quarter, individuals had bought 17 percent more Treasuries than they had a year earlier, reports the Bureau of the Public Debt. Here's a quick primer on what to buy:

- One-year Treasuries (minimum investment: $10,000; recent yield, 6.5 percent) are a bet that interest rates will rise. In a year's time, you hope to reinvest your cash for a higher return. If you're wrong, your income will shrink.
- Five-year Treasuries (minimum investment: $1,000; recent yield, 7.6 percent) serve mugwumps well. If rates fall, you'll have locked in current yields for a reasonable period of time. If rates rise, you don't have inordinately long to wait before getting your principal back for reinvestment. To maintain the purchasing power of your capital, the interest should be wheeled into a money-market fund.
- Ten-year Treasuries (minimum investment: $1,000; recent yield, 8 percent) are a pretty strong bet on declining rates. If you're right, you're in clover. If you're wrong, you've a decadelong wait for your principal back while earning subnormal returns on your money. If you sell before maturity, when rates are up, you'll get back less for your bonds than you paid. If you sell when rates are down, however, you will earn a capital gain. Bonds of long maturities, like 30 years, are generally the preserve of interest-rate speculators whose game it is to gamble on lower rates.
- Mutual funds invested in Treasuries aren't worth their annual management fees. Treasuries are default-proof, so you don't need to diversify. Buy individual securities instead (or federally insured CDs which are just as safe).
- If you'll hold your Treasuries to maturity, buy through the nearest branch of the Federal Reserve. Just call and ask for an information packet. The government charges no sales commissions. If you're speculating on interest rates, buy through a stockbroker—preferably a discount broker. Brokers can sell your bond before maturity, which the Fed cannot. You'll also need a broker if you want a bond that matures in a year not currently available from the Fed. Those will be older Treasuries that have been on the market for a while. Look for the table of their yields in your newspaper and ask the broker how close to that yield he or she can get, after subtracting sales commissions.

So much for wump protection. With, say, half of your money safe, stocks look more interesting—at least, for money you don't expect to touch for 10 years or so.

The market started running defense stocks up the flagpole some months ago—first, as the Soviet Union turned left and again when Iraq overran Kuwait. Now, investors have to weigh the value of new contracts against the likelihood that total defense spending will still slow. Take McDonnell Douglas. The division that co-contracts for the showcase Tomahawk cruise missile should be robust, says analyst Howard Rubel of C.J. Lawrence. But its A-12 attack plane has been canceled and the company has to shrink in size. Rubel prefers Raytheon, mother of Patriots.

Stocks in general seem to be poised on tiptoe, especially the smaller-company stocks. The NASDAQ index of over-the-counter stocks rose 10.8 percent in January, compared with 3.9 percent for the blue-chip stocks in the Dow Jones industrial average. Small-company growth funds are beating all other diversified mutual funds. If that continues, it will be their best showing in nearly a decade.

The international stock funds slumped badly last year, on slow growth in several countries and the sharp rise in the price of oil. Investors suffered an average 12 percent loss in dollar terms, about twice the 6.3 percent decline in U.S. general-equity funds. Guy Rigden, chief international strategist at the British investment house UBS Phillips & Drew, sees the European markets as another rough ride in the first half followed by "a happy ending." Americans socked a record $6.5 billion into foreign stock funds last year. Rigden thinks you should come out and play again.

Associate: VIRGINIA WILSON



WALLY McNAMEE—NEWSWEEK

A study in cooperation: *A phys-ed class at Magnolia Elementary in Lanham, Md., where students learn from one another*

EDUCATION

Classrooms of Babel

A record number of immigrant children pose new problems for schools

For picture day at New York's PS 217, a neighborhood elementary school in Brooklyn, the notice to parents was translated into five languages. That was a nice gesture, but insufficient: more than 40 percent of the children are immigrants whose families speak any one of 26 languages, ranging from Armenian to Urdu.

At the Leroy D. Feinberg Elementary School in Miami, a science teacher starts a lesson by holding up an ice cube and asking "Is it hot?" The point here is vocabulary. Only after the students who come from homes where English is not spoken learn the very basics will they move on to the question of just what an ice cube might be.

The first grade at Magnolia Elementary School in Lanham, Md., is a study in cooperation. A Korean boy who has been in the United States for almost a year quizzes two mainland Chinese girls who arrived 10 days ago. Nearby, a Colombian named Julio is learning to read with the help of an American-born boy.

In small towns and big cities, children with names like Oswaldo, Suong, Boris or Ngam are swelling the rolls in U.S. public schools, sitting side by side with Dick and Jane. Immigration in the 1980s brought an estimated 9 million foreign-born people to the United States, slightly more than the great wave of 8.8 million immigrants that came between 1901 and 1910. As a consequence, at least 2 million children or 5 percent of the total kindergarten-through-12th-grade population have limited proficiency in English, according to a conservative estimate from the U.S. Department of Education. In seven states including Colorado, New Mexico, New York and Texas, 25 percent or more of the students are not native-English speakers. And all but a handful of states have at least 1,000 foreign-born youngsters. As a result, says Eugene Garcia, of the University of California, Santa Cruz, "there is no education topic of greater importance today."

How to teach in a Tower of Babel? Since a 1974 Supreme Court decision, immigrant children have had the right to special help in public schools. But how much? And what kind? Many districts have responded by expanding the bilingual-education programs they've been using for the past two decades. In these classes, students are taught subjects like social studies, science and math in their native language on the theory that children must develop a firm foundation in their mother tongue before they can learn academic subjects in a new language. Proponents say that even with bilingual education it takes between four and seven years for a non-native to reach national norms on standardized tests of most subject material.

In most schools, it's not economically feasible to hire bilingual teachers unless there are 20 or more students who speak the same language in the same grade. Even then, there aren't many math, chemistry or biology teachers who can handle Vietnamese or Tagalog. In addition, critics like author and former Newton, Mass., teacher Rosalie Pedalino Porter argue that the typical bilingual programs for Spanish speakers used over the last two decades haven't worked. The clearest indication of the failure, she charges, is the high dropout rate for Hispanic children—35.8 percent compared with 14.9 percent for blacks and 12.7 percent for whites.

Bilingual classes aren't an option in a classroom where a dozen languages are spoken. In schools such as Elsik High in Houston and New York's PS 217, all immigrant children are mixed in ESL (English as a second language) classes on their grade level. ESL teachers give all instruction in English; their special training helps them work with kids who start out not knowing a single word. Some students remain in ESL classes for three or four years. Others move into regular classes but return to an ESL room for remedial periods.

Still other schools such as Houston's Hearne Elementary School use the "total immersion" method. With 104 of Hearne's 970 students speaking one of 23 languages, principal Judith Miller has encouraged all of her teachers to take ESL training so that immigrant youngsters can remain in classes with their native-English-speaking peers. "The limited-English children are able to interact with their peers better and learn social skills. They also seem much happier," says Miller. Opponents see total immersion as a euphemism for "the good old days" when non-English-speaking students sank or swam in mainstream America without special treatment.

Nurturing atmosphere: Some schools have found that immigrant parents can be a great resource, either as volunteers or hired aides. When members of New York's PS 217 Parents Association noticed that non-English-speaking families rarely made any connection with the school, they won a $10,000 grant and hired five mothers of immigrant students as outreach workers. One day each week, these women, who speak Urdu, Chinese, Russian, Haitian-Creole or Spanish, do everything from acting as interpreters at parent-teacher conferences to helping families find city services.

California is experimenting with "newcomer" schools that act as a one-year stopover for foreign-born children before they move on to a neighborhood school. These centers mix children of all ages in a given classroom and offer comprehensive services such as immunizations and other health care. Bellagio Road Newcomer School for grades four through eight is one of two such schools in Los Angeles. While most classrooms are Spanish bilingual, other students are taught in English. Teaching assistants who speak a variety of languages help out with translating. Principal Juliette Thompson says the aim is to provide a nurturing atmosphere for a year while the children, many of whom carry psychological scars from living in war-torn countries like El Salvador, learn some fundamentals of English. The newcomer schools seem to be working well, but they don't reach many kids. "Unfortunately," says Laurie Olsen, a project director for an advocacy group, California Tomorrow, "the real norm is far less optimistic than what you see happening in the newcomer schools."

A method borrowed from Canada recognizes that the problem is not one-sided. Called "two-way immersion," the program requires students to learn subject matter in both languages. Classes in the voluntary enrichment program encourage mixed groups of native speakers and English speakers to acquire new vocabulary. Public schools like PS 84 in Manhattan also use two-way immersion to attract upper-middle-class parents. Lawyer Holly Hartstone and her husband, a doctor, enrolled their 9-year-old son Adam in PS 84, where nine of the school's 25 classes are involved in voluntary Spanish two-way immersion. When Adam grows up, his parents expect that he'll live in a global community and need more than one language. These programs are catching on around the country. Two-way immersion in Japanese, which began three years ago in a Eugene, Ore., elementary school has spread to Portland, Anchorage and Detroit. And the French program at Sunset Elementary School in Coral Gables, Fla., recently received a grant from the French government.

Young Yankees: Being a stranger in a strange land is never easy. "All the English-speaking kids should learn a foreign language. Then they'd know how hard it is for us sometimes," says 17-year-old Sufyan Kabba, a Maryland high-school junior, who left Sierra Leone last year. But here they are, part of the nation's future, young Yankees who in the end must rely on the special strength of children: adaptability.

CONNIE LESLIE *with* DANIEL GLICK *in Washington,* JEANNE GORDON *in Los Angeles and bureau reports*

Many-Tongued Classes

More than 5 million children of immigrants are expected to enter U.S. public schools during the 1990s.

- About 3.5 million schoolchildren are from homes where English is not the first language.
- More than 150 languages are represented in schools nationwide.
- In seven states, 25 percent or more of students are language minorities.
- By current estimates, 73 percent of language-minority children are Hispanic.



JACQUES CHENET—NEWSWEEK

Outreach workers: *At PS 217 in Brooklyn, parents help translate in classes*



BOB ANDRES—TIMES TRIBUNE



SAL VEDER—AP

A family divided by tragedy: *Franklin in court last week and his daughter*

MIND

Forgetting to Remember

In California, a glance unlocks a horrific secret

For two decades, the murder of 8-year-old Susan Nason was a mystery. Police in the San Francisco suburb of Foster City, Calif., ran out of leads not long after finding Susan's decomposed body in a wooded ravine. Then, in January 1989, Eileen Franklin-Lipsker, Susan's best friend at the time of the murder, looked into her 6-year-old daughter's eyes and suddenly remembered. The murderer, she claims, was her father, George Franklin Sr. Franklin-Lipsker, now 30, says she watched helplessly as her father molested Susan and then smashed the child's skull with a rock. When her father threatened to kill her if she told anyone, Franklin-Lipsker locked the horror deep in her subconscious, a traumatic response psychiatrists label "repressed memory." Years later her daughter's blue eyes—the same color as Susan's—triggered the flood of remembrances.

As incredible as the story seems, Franklin-Lipsker's recollections were vivid enough to convince a jury that her father was guilty. Last week Franklin, now 51, was sentenced to life in prison. "This may be the only case in which someone is convicted of murder solely on the basis of repressed memory," says Elizabeth Loftus, a professor of psychology at the University of Washington who testified for the defense.

No other eyewitnesses nor any other physical evidence tied Franklin to the crime. Instead, the trial hinged on a complex debate over the validity of the concept of repressed memory. The prosecution's expert witness, San Francisco psychiatrist Lenore Terr, believes that traumatic memories can be "far clearer, more detailed and more long-lasting" than ordinary memory—even when repressed for so many years. But Loftus contends that memories of terrible events are often distorted by shock or fear. Both experts agreed, however, that repressed memory is a real phenomenon that can be unblocked spontaneously by an unrelated event.

Even without Susan's murder, Franklin-Lipsker says she had a nightmarish childhood. She testified that her father sexually abused her numerous times and that she learned to protect herself by "forgetting" what had happened. Defense lawyers presented other possible motives for Franklin-Lipsker's sudden recall. They claimed that she could have unconsciously woven a false memory out of her anger and fear of her father. Or, they suggested, she might have made up the whole story for the $500,000 book and movie deal she has signed.

Franklin's probation report, not part of the trial but given to the judge before sentencing, corroborates some of his daughter's testimony. An ex-girlfriend interviewed by police said Franklin asked if he could have sex with her 8-year-old daughter. He also reportedly told the woman he belonged to a society whose motto was "Sex before 8 or it's too late." Franklin's lawyer, Douglas Horngrad, says his client will appeal.

Whatever the outcome, it won't be the final verdict on repressed memory. Psychiatrists still aren't certain whether such cases represent fact or fantasy—or both. For now, the phenomenon remains as mysterious as Susan Nason's murder once was.

BARBARA KANTHOWITZ *with* NADINE JOSEPH *in San Francisco*

HEALTH

A Grim Legacy for Longtime Smokers

Although fewer Americans are smoking now, more are dying from tobacco-related illnesses—the result of past smoking habits. In a report issued last week, the federal Centers for Disease Control said that in 1988, more than 434,000 Americans died from health problems caused by smoking. That's an 11 percent increase over 1985, the CDC said. In that same period, the number of Americans who smoke declined slightly, from 30 to 29 percent. "The problem is, we are now paying for what happened 20, 30 years ago when large numbers of people smoked in large amounts," said Dr. William Roper, director of the CDC. He added that it can take up to 20 years for cancer caused by smoking to develop. In 1965, the year of the surgeon general's landmark warning against smoking, 40 percent of Americans smoked.

Smoking is the nation's leading cause of preventable deaths and is believed to be responsible for a wide variety of diseases. The CDC count for 1988 included 111,985 deaths from lung cancer, 30,850 deaths from other smoking-related cancers such as mouth and pancreatic cancer, 197,820 deaths from cardiovascular diseases and 82,857 deaths from lung diseases such as emphysema. An additional 1,303 people died in fires caused by smoking and 2,552 babies' deaths were attributed to their mothers' smoking habits. The CDC report also said that that 3,825 nonsmokers died from lung cancer caused by passive smoking—inhaling others' smoke.

In spite of these grim statistics, there's still some hope for smokers. Roper said that kicking the habit at any age lowers the risk. "It's never too late to quit," he said. "People at whatever age—25 or 85—will benefit from stopping smoking."

HEART HEALTH

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SAL VEDER—AP

A family divided by tragedy: *Franklin in court last week and his daughter*

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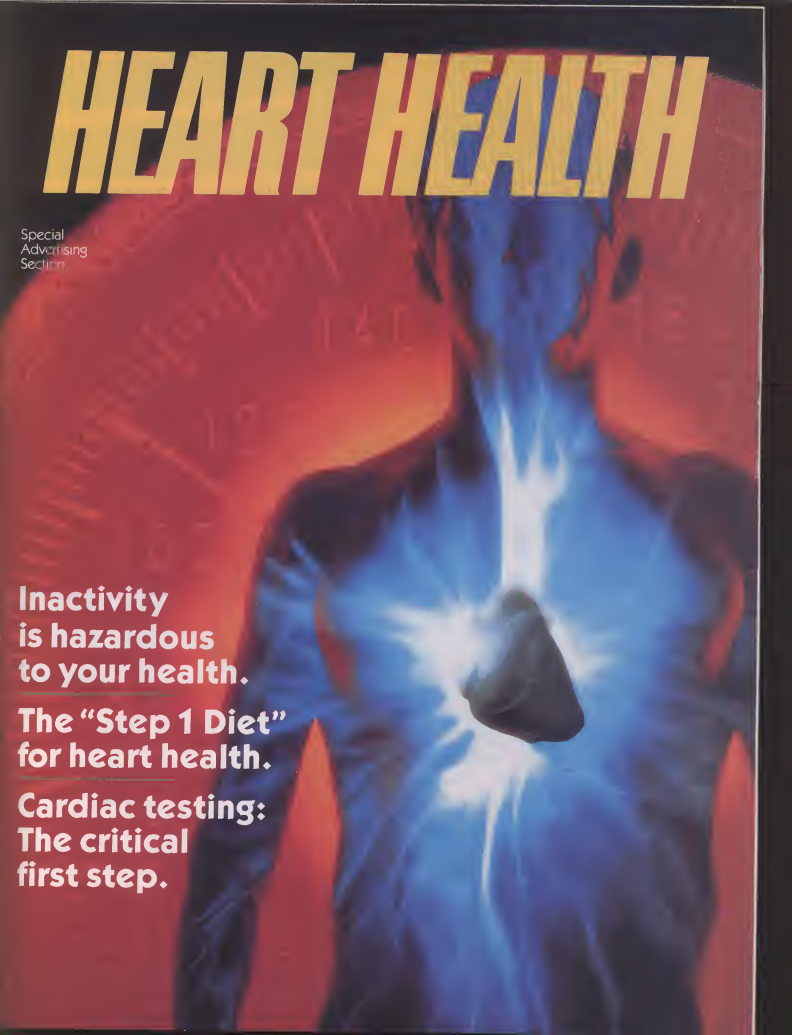
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HEART HEALTH

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NUTRITION

Heart Healthy Eating

By Henry N. Ginsberg, M.D.

How can we differentiate between what is a fact and what is a fad? Sometimes it's very hard to tell the difference.

In an effort to bring order to the avalanche of dietary recommendations that Americans are bombarded by, the National Institutes of Health, through its National Cholesterol Education Program, and the National Cancer Institute, and the American Heart Association, have formulated and published dietary guidelines that are aimed at preventing common diseases. The Food and Drug Administration is writing new regulations for the labeling of foods. Unfortunately, rational, scientifically-based approaches to disease prevention can be overwhelmed by the volume of unsubstantiated, and often invalid, information available.

However, the recent report, "Diet and Health," prepared by the National Research Council, provides an outstanding source for sensible dietary guidelines.

Diet and cardiovascular disease: Studies at the turn of the century by the Russian pathologists, Ignatovski and Anitschkow, which demonstrated a link between dietary fat and cholesterol and the development of arterial lesions, formed the basis for attempts by modern scientists to link dietary factors to heart disease. We all know that the Japanese, who eat very little fat, have almost no coronary artery disease (CAD). Less well known is the fact that the Finns, who eat large amounts of fat, have the highest rate of CAD in the world. When nations around the world are ranked, Americans fall near the high end for both fat intake and CAD. Dietary saturated fat appears to be the specific mediator of atherosclerosis, while polyunsaturated and monounsaturated fats appear to be neutral, or even anti-atherogenic. Dietary cholesterol has also been linked to CAD, although not as firmly as dietary fat intake. While these associations are certainly related, at least in part, to the effects of dietary fats and cholesterol on blood cholesterol levels, other roles for these dietary components in the development of vascular disease are possible.

Recommendations for consumption of fat, cholesterol and fiber: The American Heart Association and the National Cholesterol Education Program recommend that all adult Americans eat a "Step 1 Diet" in order to control total fat, saturated fat and cholesterol intake. The objective of this recommendation is to maintain a normal, or reduce an elevated, blood cholesterol level by reducing the total fat, saturated fat, and cholesterol content of the diet. Most Americans eat about 36-37% of their total calories as fat, 13-16% as saturated fat, and 400-800 mgs. of cholesterol per day. The American Heart Association Step 1 Diet recommends that we limit our consumption of foods that are high in fat and cholesterol, such as fried foods, fatty cuts of meat, full fat dairy products and eggs. In addition, the Step 1 Diet advises us to substitute polyunsaturated and monounsaturated fat for saturated fats wherever possible. Specifically, the diet recommends a reduction in the amount of total calories derived from fat to 30%, with saturated fat less than 10% and daily cholesterol intake lower than 300 mgs. These dietary changes will usually result in a significant reduction of plasma cholesterol levels (5-20%).



Recommendations for sodium intake: The American Heart Association also recommends that adults limit their salt (sodium chloride) intake to no more than three grams (3,000 mgs.) per day. This recommendation is at least a 50% reduction in our present levels of salt intake.

Recommendations for body weight: Obesity has been implicated as a risk factor in coronary artery disease. Thus, there are obvious benefits in maintaining normal weight, or in reducing existing weight to fall within normal ranges. Ideal body weight can be calculated using the Metropolitan Life tables, which calculate weight based on height and body frame size. Adults can estimate how close they are to an ideal weight by using the following formula: Women should weigh 100 pounds for a height of 5 feet, and can add 5 pounds for each additional inch. Men should weigh 106 pounds for a height of 5 feet, and add 6 pounds for each additional inch.

What is fat? Where does it come from? And what do our bodies do with it? Fat is a triglyceride, a substance comprised of three fatty acid molecules (chains of carbon atoms) and a molecule of glycerol (derived from sugar). Triglycerides are used for energy, and are broken down to water and carbon dioxide in the process. If we eat more calories (energy) than we use in a day, we will gain weight

All fiber is not created equal.



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by storing triglycerides as fat. When we need extra energy, we will take triglycerides from our fat stores and use it to provide energy. All forms of fats, saturated, monounsaturated, and polyunsaturated provide the same amount of energy (9 calories/gram), even though they differ in the way they affect blood cholesterol levels.

Fat is present in all animal products, including dairy foods, and some vegetables and fruits. Although all three types of fats are present as mixtures in all fat-containing foods, the distribution of these fats differ significantly in food types. Saturated fats are predominantly found in animal products (meat, poultry, fish and dairy products), but are also in plant products (peanut, palm and coconut oil). Monounsaturated fats predominate in olive oil, rapeseed (canola) oil and certain types of nuts. Polyunsaturated fats are present in highest proportion in corn, safflower and sunflower oils.

What is Cholesterol? What is the difference between fat and cholesterol? In contrast to fat, cholesterol is not used for energy but is a building block for cells and for hormones (steroids, estrogen, testosterone). Cholesterol is only found in animal products, and is usually present in larger quantities in products that are higher in saturated fats. The major sources of dietary cholesterol are egg yolks and animal products such as red meats and organs such as liver. Many products in the supermarket which advertise themselves to be "cholesterol free" may still be loaded with fat if they have been deep fried. Vegetable oils do not have cholesterol either, but they are all fat, and some are very high in saturated fat.

What is fiber? What foods are high in fiber? Fiber is composed of large molecules of carbohydrates (complex polysaccharides) and lignins (plant cell-wall component) that are either undigested or poorly absorbed from the intestinal tract. Although sugars provide the building block molecules for the polysaccharide type of fiber, these sugars have little effect on weight or blood sugar level, because they are so poorly digested and absorbed. There are two types of fiber, insoluble and soluble. Both types are present in high fiber foods such as whole grains, raw fruits and vegetables. Insoluble fibers have no direct metabolic effects on



other foods that we ingest, but because they are not digested themselves, they increase the bulk of fecal material eliminated during bowel movements. Populations eating diets high in insoluble fiber are usually thin and have lower incidence of cancer and heart disease. Soluble fibers are partially digested, but still poorly absorbed from the intestinal tract. This type of fiber does appear, however, to have metabolic effects on both carbohydrate and fat metabolism. Oat bran, pectin and guar gum stimulate bile acid excretion from the gut and may affect cholesterol metabolism in this manner. On the other hand, there is no evidence to support a recommendation for excessive consumption of fiber. Simply eating diets high in whole grains, raw fruits, and vegetables should provide adequate dietary fiber.

What is sodium? What does it do? How much do we need? Dietary salt, or sodium chloride, is approximately 40% sodium by weight. Sodium is a mineral that plays a crucial role in the maintenance of our circulating blood volume and blood pressure. Our bodies require about 500 mgs. (one-half gram) of salt, or about 200 mgs. of sodium, daily. The average American consumes between six and eighteen grams of salt each day. Although our kidneys can usually excrete the excess salt we consume, about 30% of adults with high blood pressure may be very sensitive to the amount of salt they take into their bodies. These individuals can lower their blood pressure by reducing salt consumption. The recommended level of salt intake of less than 3,000 mgs. per day is well above the necessary food intake noted above.

Putting recommendations into practice: How do we interpret these various dietary recommendations into a language that makes sense? One way is to take a closer look at the foods we eat on a regular basis, and find practical ways to decrease fat, cholesterol, sodium and calories (if necessary) without making radical and unsustainable changes. For instance, a daily breakfast of eggs, buttered toast, and coffee with cream, may be modified by replacing butter with margarine, eggs with an egg substitute, white bread with whole wheat bread, and cream with low fat milk. For lunches, it is a healthier choice to use lean poultry such as turkey, lean ham, or water-packed tuna fish instead of fatty luncheon meats or mayonnaise-rich salads. Similarly, a fried meal can be replaced by one which is broiled or roasted, such as a broiled hamburger and baked potato taking the place of a fried hamburger and french fries. No food that you enjoy has to be totally eliminated from the diet, but if you are trying to meet the Step 1 Diet guidelines, restriction of certain food items to once or twice a week, or restriction of portion size, will be necessary.

Translating all of these recommendations into realistic dietary habits is a process that has to be implemented over time, not overnight. Purchasing and preparing cholesterol-free and low fat foods is not a formidable task, once you have good information about making healthier food choices. Although a person may initially spend more time in the selection of healthy foods, learning to read labels and estimate fat, cholesterol and sodium contents of foods is certainly a worthwhile activity!

Losing weight does not have to be a losing proposition:

A discussion of weight loss could take an entire issue of this magazine, and so we will only focus on a few important issues. First, and probably foremost, it must be recognized that much recent research indicated that individuals do have different metabolic rates, that this may be in part, inherited, and that repeated rapid weight loss may lead to more and more efficient weight gain. Although there is still controversy over all of these points, what is clear is that weight loss must be achieved in a long-term program that includes some caloric restriction, nutrient modification and increased caloric expenditure, ie., exercise. While crash-diets of any type will be successful in causing loss of weight in the short-term, the chance of gaining back that weight over the succeeding months is extremely high. There are no "quick-cures;" most people gain weight over many years, and it may take several years to lose that weight.

Dr. Ginsberg is an Associate Professor of Medicine, Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons and a member of The American Heart Association's National Nutrition Committee.



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PREVENTION

Detecting Heart Disease: The Critical First Step

By Harvey Wolinsky, M.D. and Edward Fisher, M.D.

With increasingly sophisticated techniques and technology offering physicians an unprecedented ability to detect and treat heart disease, many deaths and complications can now be avoided.

This revolution in disease-detection allows for the identification of structural, electrical and circulatory deficiencies that contribute to the complex set of disorders known as "heart disease."

With a goal of gathering as much information, with as few a number of tests, and at as little cost and risk to the patient as possible, several new techniques are being used to detect heart disease.

Unmasking Structural Disorders

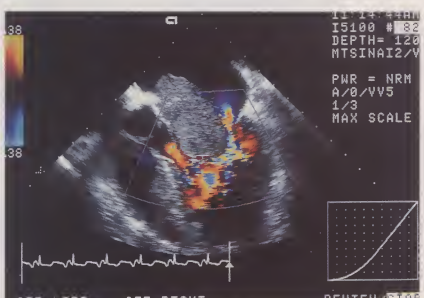
In the past, pathology always had the final answer. Hence, dissection gave rise to brilliant insights. Today, the clinician can use special non-invasive tests in living patients to obtain information about an individual's heart structure that rivals a postmortem examination's accuracy.

Among these techniques is *echocardiography*, which explores the heart with sound waves. During a routine echocardiography, a transducer (probe) is placed on the chest wall. It works by sending out sound waves and then receiving "echoes" reflected from structures within the heart. These sound waves are then computer-reconstructed into one, two or even three-dimensions to form a moving picture that can be used to "see" how the heart muscle and its valves are functioning. For example, the extent of muscle damaged in a heart attack can be assessed. The method can also be used after surgery has been performed to repair or replace a valve, to assess the procedure's adequacy before the operation is finished, thus avoiding the need to possibly repeat surgery.

The principles of physics described by Christian Doppler in 1842 for the movement of stars have been adapted to evaluate the movement of blood within the heart. This method, *Doppler ultrasound*, is of particular significance in assessing flow through tight or leaky valves. In the early 1980s, color flow Doppler echo was introduced allowing color-coded Doppler flow measurements to further improve the assessment of leaks within the heart.

Transesophageal echocardiography (TEE) is a new imaging test used in patients who are difficult to study with a routine echo test (for example, those with artificial heart valves or who have disease in parts of the heart or major blood vessels which cannot be seen with regular echo tests). The imaging component of a TEE probe is placed at the end of a scope that is similar to those used to look at the stomach and intestines. It is passed into the esophagus, or food pipe, which is located up against the beating heart. The "echo" is then transmitted back to the computer where the picture is reconstructed and can be read.

More recently, a miniature imaging component has been placed at the end of a cardiac catheter which is then inserted into an artery. Echocardiographic pictures can then be taken of blockages within the heart's arteries (*intravascular echocardiography*). This new test may give us additional information about what actually makes up a specific blockage within an artery.

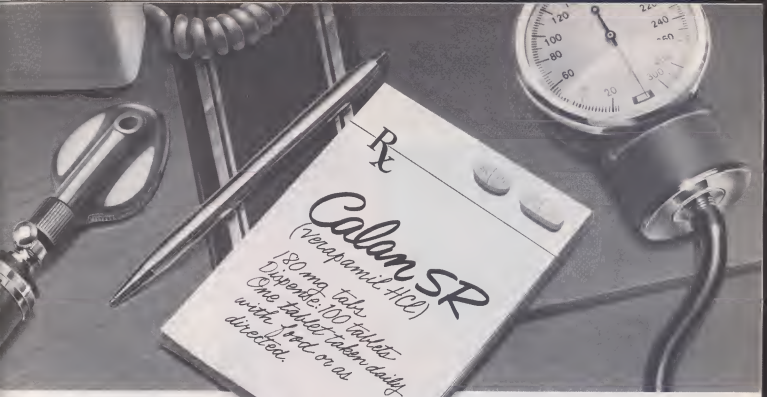


Used to discover structural disorders in the heart, a new imaging test, Transesophageal echocardiography (TEE) views a heart tumor.

Detecting and Treating Electrical Malfunctions

Problems may arise from either too rapid or too slow a heart rate, as well as from irregular rhythms. In these cases, the electrical signals that trigger the heart muscle either run amuck in an endless circular path or they run into roadblocks, and are therefore unable to conduct current to the heart muscle in an orderly fashion. Some "problems," such as premature beats, are often benign and they may be noticed only as a skipped beat. But if these beats occur in clusters, are constant, or are too rapid or too slow, the heart cannot perform its task of providing circulating blood to the body, and symptoms of weakness or lightheadedness result. If the irregular rhythm (arrhythmia) is prolonged, unconsciousness and even death may ensue.

After a routine electrocardiogram, the first step taken in detecting an electrical problem is wearing a *Holter monitor* which provides a timed tape recording of all the heart beats in a 24-hour period. A specific rhythm abnormality can then be linked to symptoms noted in a patient's diary at a given point in time. The frequency and duration of the extra beats or



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Contraindications: Severe LV dysfunction (see *Warnings*), hypotension (systolic pressure < 90 mm Hg) or cardiogenic shock, sick sinus syndrome (if no pacemaker is present), 2nd- or 3rd-degree AV block (if no pacemaker is present), atrial flutter/fibrillation with an accessory bypass tract (eg, WPW or LGL syndromes), hypersensitivity to verapamil

Warnings: Heart failure: Verapamil has a negative inotropic effect In clinical experience with 4,954 patients, 87 (1 8%) developed congestive heart failure or pulmonary edema Verapamil should be avoided in patients with severe LV dysfunction (eg, ejection fraction < 30%) or moderate to severe symptoms of cardiac failure and in patients with any degree of ventricular dysfunction if they are receiving a beta-blocker (see *Drug Interactions*) Control milder heart failure with optimum digitalization and/or diuretics before Calan SR is used **(Note interactions with digoxin under *Precautions*.) Hypotension:** Verapamil may occasionally produce hypotension **Elevated liver enzymes:** Elevations of transaminases with and without concomitant elevations in alkaline phosphatase and bilirubin have been reported. Such elevations have sometimes been transient and may disappear even in the face of continued verapamil treatment Several cases of hepatocellular injury related to verapamil have been proven by rechallenge, half of these had clinical symptoms (malaise, fever, and/or right upper quadrant pain) in addition to elevation of SGOT, SGPT, and alkaline phosphatase Periodic monitoring of liver function in patients on verapamil is prudent **Accessory bypass tract (Wolff-Parkinson-White or Lown-Ganong-Levine):** Some patients with paroxysmal and/or chronic atrial flutter/fibrillation and an accessory AV pathway (eg, WPW or LGL syndromes) have developed an increased antegrade conduction across the accessory pathway bypassing the AV node, producing a very rapid ventricular response or ventricular fibrillation after receiving I V verapamil (or digitalis). Because of this risk, oral verapamil is contraindicated in such patients (see *Contraindications*) Treatment is usually DC-cardioversion Cardioversion has been used safely and effectively after oral Calan **Atrioventricular block:** The effect of verapamil on AV conduction and the SA node may cause asymptomatic first-degree AV block and transient bradycardia, sometimes accompanied by nodal escape rhythms PR-interval prolongation is correlated with verapamil plasma concentrations, especially during the early titration phase of therapy AV block may occur (2nd- and 3rd-degree, 0 8%). Development of marked 1st-degree block or progression to 2nd- or 3rd-degree block requires reduction in dosage or, rarely, discontinuation and institution of appropriate therapy **Patients with hypertrophic cardiomyopathy (IHSS):** In 120 patients with hypertrophic cardiomyopathy (most of them refractory or intolerant to propranolol) who received therapy with verapamil at doses up to 720 mg/day, a variety of serious adverse effects was seen. Three patients died in pulmonary edema; all had severe left ventricular outflow obstruction and a past history of left ventricular dysfunction Eight other patients had pulmonary edema and/or severe hypotension; abnormally high (> 20 mm Hg) pulmonary wedge pressure and a marked left ventricular outflow obstruction were present in most of these patients Concomitant administration of quinidine (see *Drug interactions*) preceded the severe hypotension in 3 of the 8 patients (2 of whom developed pulmonary edema) Sinus bradycardia occurred in 11% of the patients, 2nd-degree AV block in 4%, and sinus arrest in 2%.

Precautions: *Use in patients with impaired hepatic function:* Verapamil should be given cautiously to patients with impaired hepatic function (in severe dysfunction use about 30% of the normal dose) and patients should be monitored for abnormal prolongation of the PR interval or other signs of overdosage (see *Overdosage*) ***Use in patients with attenuated (decreased) neuromuscular transmission:*** Verapamil may decrease neuromuscular transmission in patients with Duchenne's muscular dystrophy and may prolong recovery from the neuromuscular blocking agent vecuronium It may be necessary to decrease verapamil dosage in patients with attenuated neuromuscular transmission ***Use in patients with impaired renal function:*** About 70% of an administered dose of verapamil is excreted as metabolites in the urine Verapamil is not removed by hemodialysis Until further data are available, verapamil should be administered cautiously to patients with impaired renal function These patients should be carefully monitored for abnormal prolongation of the PR interval or other signs of overdosage (see *Overdosage*) **Drug interactions:** Combined therapy with beta-adrenergic blockers and verapamil may result in additive negative effects on heart rate, atrioventricular conduction, and/or cardiac contractility. The combination of sustained-release verapamil and beta-adrenergic blocking agents has not been studied. However, there have been reports of excessive bradycardia and AV block, including complete heart block For hypertensive patients, the risks of such combined therapy may outweigh the benefits The combination should be used only with caution and close monitoring Asymptomatic bradycardia (36 beats/min) with a wandering atrial pacemaker has been observed in a patient receiving concomitant timolol (a beta-adrenergic blocker) eyedrops and oral verapamil A decrease in metoprolol clearance has been observed when verapamil and metoprolol were administered together A similar effect has not been seen when verapamil and atenolol were given together Chronic verapamil treatment can increase serum digoxin levels by 50% to 75% during the first week of therapy, which can result in digitalis toxicity In patients with hepatic cirrhosis, verapamil may reduce total body clearance and extrarenal clearance of digitoxin by 27% and 29%, respectively The digoxin dose should be reduced when verapamil is given, and the patient carefully monitored Verapamil administered concomitantly with oral antihypertensive agents (eg, vasodilators, angiotensin-converting enzyme inhibitors, diuretics, beta-blockers) will usually have an additive effect on lowering blood pressure Patients receiving these combinations should be appropriately monitored Concomitant use of agents that attenuate alpha-adrenergic function with verapamil may result in a reduction in blood pressure that is excessive in some patients Such an effect was observed in one study following the concomitant administration of verapamil and prazosin. Disopyramide should not be given within 48 hours before or 24 hours after verapamil administration Concomitant use of flecainide and verapamil may have additive effects on myocardial contractility, AV conduction, and repolarization Combined verapamil and quinidine therapy in patients with hypertrophic cardiomyopathy should be avoided, since significant hypotension may result Verapamil has been given concomitantly with short- and long-acting nitrates without any undesirable drug interactions. The interaction between cimetidine and chronically administered verapamil has not been studied. Variable results on clearance have been obtained in acute studies of healthy volunteers; clearance of verapamil was either reduced or unchanged. Concomitant use of lithium and verapamil may result in a lowering of serum lithium levels or increased sensitivity to lithium Patients receiving both drugs must be monitored carefully Verapamil may increase carbamazepine concentrations during combined use This may produce carbamazepine side effects such as diplopia, headache, ataxia, or dizziness. Rifampin may markedly reduce verapamil bioavailability. Phenobarbital may increase verapamil clearance Verapamil may increase serum levels of cyclosporin. Concomitant use of inhalation anesthetics and calcium antagonists needs careful titration to avoid excessive cardiovascular depression Verapamil may potentiate the activity of neuromuscular blocking agents (curare-like and depolarizing), dosage reduction may be required An 18-month toxicity study in rats, at a low multiple (6-fold) of the maximum recommended human dose, and not the maximum tolerated dose, did not suggest a tumorigenic potential There was no evidence of a carcinogenic potential of verapamil administered in the diet of rats for two years at doses of 10, 35, and 120 mg/kg/day or approximately 1, 3 5, and 12 times, respectively, the maximum recommended human daily dose (480 mg/day or 9 6 mg/kg/day) Studies in female rats at daily dietary doses up to 5.5 times (55 mg/kg/day) the maximum recommended human dose did not show impaired fertility. Effects on male fertility have not been determined. Pregnancy Category C There are no adequate and well-controlled studies in pregnant women This drug should be used during pregnancy, labor, and delivery only if clearly needed. Verapamil is excreted in breast milk; therefore, nursing should be discontinued during verapamil use. Safety and efficacy of Calan SR in children below the age of 18 years have not been established. In chronic animal toxicology studies verapamil caused lenticular and/or suture line changes at 30 mg/kg/day or greater, and frank cataracts at 62 5 mg/kg/day or greater in the beagle dog but not in the rat. Development of cataracts due to verapamil has not been reported in man

Adverse Reactions: See *Warnings* for discussion of heart failure, hypotension, elevated liver enzymes, AV block, and rapid ventricular response Constipation (7 3%), dizziness (3.3%), nausea (2.7%), hypotension (2 5%), headache (2 2%), edema (1 9%), CHF and pulmonary edema (1 8%), fatigue (1 7%), dyspnea (1 4%), bradycardia HR < 50/min (1 4%), AV block total 1° 2°, 3° (1 2%), 2° and 3° (0 8%), rash (1 2%), flushing (0 6%), elevated liver enzymes (see *Warnings*) The following reactions, reported in ≤ 1.0% of patients, occurred under conditions where a causal relationship is uncertain angina pectoris, atrioventricular dissociation, chest pain, claudication, myocardial infarction, palpitations, purpura (vasculitis), syncope, diarrhea, dry mouth, gastrointestinal distress, gingival hyperplasia, ecchymosis or bruising, cerebrovascular accident, confusion, equilibrium disorders, insomnia, muscle cramps, paresthesia, psychotic symptoms, shakiness, somnolence arthralgia and rash, exanthema, hair loss, hyperkeratosis, macules, sweating, urticaria, Stevens-Johnson syndrome, erythema multiforme, blurred vision, gynecomastia, increased urination, spotty menstruation, impotence The frequency of cardiovascular adverse reactions that require therapy is rare, hence, experience with their treatment is limited. Whenever severe hypotension or complete AV block occurs following oral administration of verapamil, the appropriate emergency measures should be applied immediately, eg, intravenously administered norepinephrine bitartrate, atropine sulfate, isoproterenol HCl (all in the usual doses), or calcium gluconate (10% solution) In patients with hypertrophic cardiomyopathy (IHSS), alpha-adrenergic agents (phenylephrine HCl, metaraminol bitartrate, or methoxamine HCl) should be used to maintain blood pressure, and isoproterenol and norepinephrine should be avoided. If further support is necessary, dopamine HCl or dobutamine HCl may be administered Actual treatment and dosage should depend on the severity of the clinical situation and the judgment and experience of the treating physician

Overdosage: Treatment of overdosage should be supportive Beta-adrenergic stimulation or parenteral administration of calcium solutions may increase calcium ion flux across the slow channel and have been used effectively in treatment of deliberate overdosage with verapamil Verapamil cannot be removed by hemodialysis Clinically significant hypotensive reactions or fixed high-degree AV block should be treated with vasopressor agents or cardiac pacing, respectively Asystole should be handled by the usual measures, including cardiopulmonary resuscitation

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PREVENTION

pauses are noted and measured.

Not all arrhythmias have to be treated, especially if the person has no other symptoms. If a serious arrhythmia is suspected, an *electrophysiological study (EPS)* is often made. It entails passing a catheter from a limb artery into the heart while the individual is awake, and then stimulating the heart until it takes off on a runaway rhythm. Then, intravenous medications are given to restore normal rhythm. With such trial and error methods, an effective drug or combination of drugs can be chosen, and oral therapy is then continued. However, EPS, while safe, is laborious and can take many days of testing to arrive at the right combination of drugs.

Signal averaging has recently been introduced to decrease the number of patients needing EPS. It analyzes a highly amplified signal from the heart and produces a high-quality electrocardiogram which is then examined for abnormal impulses. If these occur during a period when the electrical signal should be quiet, they indicate a more serious problem which then can be more fully evaluated by electrophysiological study.

Although the focus of this article is on diagnosis, therapeutic advances in the electrical domain are astonishing. Pauses of long duration may be treated with extremely complex pacemakers that can be wired to the heart muscle and then programmed to provide an almost endless variety of resting and/or exercise rates.

If drug therapy fails to control a serious arrhythmia, the *automatic implantable cardioverter-defibrillator (AICD)* may be used. If this device senses a prolonged life-threatening electrical abnormality, it discharges a jolt of electricity to the heart, thereby restoring a stable rhythm. The AICD then recharges itself, and awaits the next event. Certain very serious arrhythmias are also treated with *catheter ablation*. With this method, the small area of heart muscle causing the runaway rhythm can be destroyed by directly applying an intense electrical current from the end of a precisely placed catheter.

Screening for Circulatory Deficiencies

Most heart disease in the United States is caused by atherosclerotic narrowing or blocking of the coronary arteries. These arteries, which branch out from the main arterial trunk, the aorta, supply



Thallium stress test showing blood flow to different areas of the heart.

the heart's muscle and, to an extent, the electrical pathways, with oxygen and nutrients.

Narrowings do not significantly reduce blood flow until they block more than 75% of the artery's cross-sectional area. Most narrowings are caused by fixed plaque (composed of cholesterol, fat, and scar tissue) but spasms and clots can magnify the plaque's effect. *Cardiac catheterization* and *angiography* (injection of radioopaque dye into the coronary arteries), has been the gold standard by which to measure the degree of obstruction to blood flow (new techniques might prove to be even better). However, the expense, complexity, and small but definite risk of this test prevents it from being a routine screening procedure.

Several other methods can be used to judge the adequacy of blood flow in the coronary arteries. The *treadmill exercise stress test* is very useful as a screening procedure. Progressive exercise increases the pulse and blood pressure, raising the requirements for blood flow to nourish the hard-working heart muscle. This test is 70-75% reliable and if positive (suggestive of disease), it must be confirmed to a higher probability. If symptoms of heart disease occur during the test and are absolutely typical, a decision can be made to simply give medication or to proceed directly to cardiac angiography. In general, the decision is based upon such things as the pattern of symptoms, severity of the treadmill test, ease of controlling the symptoms, and prior degree of heart damage. If no symptoms are elicited by the electrocardiographic test, and yet changes seen with exercise suggest a problem, confirmation is sought with one or two radioisotope techniques.

These tests are intended to detect the presence of disease (serious coronary artery narrowings) with high probability. Both methods track isotopes in the heart by placing large radiation-counters outside the patient's chest. The first test, *thallium-201 stress testing*, works by following radioactive potassium into heart muscle areas that receive blood flow. If damage to the heart muscle is permanent (which happens if the patient has had a heart attack), a blank ("cold") area is seen both when the patient exercises and when he or she rests. If blood flow through the artery is decreased only when the heart requires an increased amount of blood (as with exercise), but is adequate when the heart's requirements are low (when the patient is resting), a "cold" area is seen when pictures are taken as the patient exercises but they later fill in with isotope (become "hot") as the patient stops exercising and rests. Again, depending upon the degree of damage and the amount of heart muscle which is alive, a decision is made to treat the patient with medications or to proceed directly to coronary angiography. Even if the latter is done and confirms a more extensive degree of insufficient blood flow, the decision includes: 1) medical control (medications), 2) balloon angioplasty (opening of the blockage with a balloon placed at the end of a catheter, or small tube used in angiography) of one or more arteries, or 3) coronary artery bypass surgery to deal with one or more areas of narrowing.



X-ray showing blocked coronary artery

Information about the patient's overall heart status can be gained from calculation of heart function obtained from a second kind of radioisotope study called the *gated blood pool scan or MUGA (multi-gated scan)*. For this test, red blood cells are labelled with technitium-99, or another isotope, and are then returned to the blood stream. By imaging the pool of blood in the heart chambers at rest and at exercise, the degree of the heart's overall ability to pump is obtained, giving a sense of how well the heart is dealing with the loss of coronary blood flow in one or more arteries.

Elegant, helpful and convenient (none, including catheterization, requires an overnight hospitalization) as these techniques are, they are not perfect. Indeed, research studies have suggested ways of improvement. Simply put, the degree of blockage in a coronary artery does not tell us how much pain, shortness of breath, or decrease in the amount of exercise a patient will experience. Efforts are now underway to improve this situation, though they still require enormously expensive, complicated and physically awkward equipment.

One such method, *positron emission tomography (PET)*, uses information about the actual metabolism of certain elements to tell us whether heart muscle is alive. Another test to study the heart is *magnetic resonance imaging (MRI)*, which is based upon a property of certain elements found in the body (for example, hydrogen) which send out a radio signal if they are placed in a magnetic field and then excited by a radio wave. This test gives very detailed pictures of the heart's anatomy and is important because it can tell the difference between moving blood and nonmoving structures without an injection of contrast dye material.

The particular place for these newer tests in the overall evaluation of heart disease remains to be seen, but it is clear that the frontiers are pushing forward to clearer and more reliable testing at little, if any, risk to the patient. By providing better information about the heart's function as well as structure, these tests will advance our understanding and result in better management of heart disease. Detection of heart disease long before disability or death occurs is indeed the critical first step. The remarkable methods we have described are making this hope a reality!

Dr Wolinsky is a clinical professor of medicine at Mt. Sinai School of Medicine, an attending physician at Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York, and in private practice of preventive cardiology in New York. He is also author of "The Heart Attack Recovery Handbook," Warner Books Inc

Dr Fisher is on the faculty of the Mount Sinai School of Medicine, is an attending physician at both Mount Sinai Medical Center and Lenox Hill Hospital in New York, and is in private cardiology and internal medicine practice in New York.

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FITNESS

Seduce Yourself Into Shape

By James M. Rippe, M.D.

By now, virtually everyone knows that no matter what your age, regular exercise is good for your health in general and your heart in particular.

In fact, in one recent survey, 93% of respondents agreed with the statement that "regular exercise is one of the best things you can do to preserve your health."

Are these people right? Does regular exercise really reduce your risk of heart disease? Absolutely! The medical literature is now overwhelming that a consistently active lifestyle results in important health benefits. *Inactivity* is hazardous to your health.

Recently, the Centers for Disease Control published a study comparing active people to inactive people in terms of their risk of heart disease. This study showed that inactive people run almost twice the risk of heart disease compared to active people! To put that in perspective, by being inactive you increase your risk



of heart disease by the same amount as if you smoke a pack of cigarettes a day. But the story is even worse than that. While only 10% of adults in the U.S. smoke a pack of cigarettes a day, over 60% of U.S. adults are inactive. Some studies have even placed the figure of sedentary adults higher.

Why Aren't People Active?

If over 90% of people know they should be more active, why are so few actually exercising on a regular basis?

I think it is because people have the wrong idea about exercise. Many people still suffer from the misconception of "No pain, No gain!" These people don't understand that increased activity can and should be a natural, enjoyable part of every day life–not some grim and punishing experience.

The medical literature is quite clear on this point. If your goal is to improve your health and reduce your risk of heart disease, the goal should be consistent, lifelong activity rather than intense, short term exercise. Studies show that people who walk, garden, dance, mow the lawn or climb stairs on a regular basis throughout their lives significantly reduce their risk of heart disease. So my advice to my cardiac patients is the same as for everyone else–take the dog on regular walks–it's good for both of you. Take the stairs at work–you'll get to your destination faster anyway. And if you're one of those people who thinks that "to dance is to live," you're probably right!

The point is that we need to view exercise as a fun, natural part of daily life. You don't have to turn your life upside down to be healthier, you just need to pay



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FITNESS

attention to those every day opportunities that each of us have to be more active. It's something everyone can do, whether or not you have been active in the past. To help you see how easy it is to get started and stay with regular exercise, I offer the following 10 tips for seducing yourself into shape. These tips are based on a brochure I did a few years ago for the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports.

Seduce Yourself Into Shape

1. *Develop a Specific Plan*

Don't leave your exercise program to chance. If you do not have a specific plan, oftentimes exercise ends up at the bottom of your list and simply doesn't get done. If you know that you are going to have a busy day at work, plan from the beginning of the day to take the stairs to appointments or take a walk at lunch time.

2. *Set Realistic Goals*

Many people who start an exercise program forget that it may have taken a number of years for them to fall into their sedentary ways. They make the mistake of trying to go out and run or walk briskly for two or three miles on the first time out. What results is soreness, discouragement or even injury. Set a realistic goal for yourself based on your current level of conditioning and have fun.

3. *Use Motivational Equipment*

Many people falter on simple steps preparing for their exercise program. Over the past five years there have been significant advances in equipment which can make regular exercise easier, safer, and more motivational. People who intend to walk for exercise, for example, should purchase a good pair of shoes designed for fitness walking. A good pair of running shoes is vital to a jogger. An exercise suit made of nylon or water-resistant fabrics will help you exercise outdoors during inclement weather. Computer enhancements to stationary cycles and other home fitness equipment allow them to display time of exercise, calories burned, miles pedalled, etc.–all of which can be very motivational.

4. *Establish a Definite Time and Place*

View your exercise session as an appointment with yourself. If you set up a definite time and place to exercise, and mark it in your appointment book, you are much more likely to do it than if you leave it to chance.

5. *Involve Your Family and Friends*

Studies show that individuals who involve their family and friends in their healthy decision to exercise regularly are more likely to stick with their program than individuals who opt to "go it alone." The support of your spouse is particularly crucial. Why not tell your spouse about your plan to improve your health through regular exercise and invite him/her to join you? The kids can join in too. It's a great way to make your exercise time part of family life and for the children to establish proper health habits from an early age. Making an appointment to walk with a friend will help get you out of bed on a chilly morning or out in the fresh air on a rainy day when you might otherwise be tempted to look for an excuse.

6. *Vary Your Activity*

The best way to fight boredom is to prevent it before it happens. Vary your activities from day to day and season to season. For example, one day go for a walk with your spouse. The next day mow the lawn or rake the leaves. The third day challenge a friend to a game of tennis. Don't forget to make plans to vary your activity during the change of seasons. Plan to walk in a mall during

FITNESS



cold weather. Swimming and outdoor cycling can add spice to your summer workouts. One good way to assure that you have proper facilities all throughout the year is to join a health club. If you don't already belong to a health club, and are not sure of how to make the choice, IRSA, the Association of Quality Clubs, has a free brochure available entitled "Choosing a Quality Health Club." Simply send a self-addressed, stamped envelope to IRSA, 253 Summer Street, Boston, MA 02210 or call 1-800-228-4772 and ask for this free brochure.

7. *Avoid Injury*

One sure way to disrupt a regular exercise program is to get injured. The best ways to reduce your risk of injury include using proper technique, wearing and using proper equipment and warming up and cooling down. For example, tennis or swimming lessons are a good investment to avoid injury. Well designed, properly maintained equipment also reduces your risk. All too many people cut their workouts short without proper warm-up and cool down and inadvertently increase their risk of injury.

8. *Build Up Gradually*

Change occurs slowly when it comes to the area of fitness. Remember that the goal is to establish a consistent, lifelong pattern of increased activity. Most research studies show that improvements in fitness, whether they be an increased aerobic capacity or increased strength, occur

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at the rate of about 1-2 percent per week. So build up gradually.

9. *Keep a Record*

Most experienced athletes keep a record of their exercise and it is a good idea for beginners, too. It is very motivational to be able to look back over the weeks and months (and eventually years) and see how your own efforts have led to increased personal health and happiness. The record does not have to be very elaborate. Many people start out with a wall calendar or their regular appointment book and mark an "x" or put an "=" every time they exercise. More elaborate exercise logs are also available.

10. *Reward Yourself*

Many people forget to stop and give themselves a well-deserved pat on the back for a job well done. If you have started exercising three times a week, when you make it through the month, why not go to your local bookstore and buy that book you have been wanting as a reward? After three months, why not take your spouse out for dinner to congratulate yourselves on the healthier life you live with exercise as a part? Simple rewards remind you that you are the one in charge and that your own efforts can determine the quality of life you lead.

You will probably find other tips that work for you to remind you how easy it can be to lead a positive lifestyle. The point to remember is that it can be very easy to lead a more active, healthier lifestyle. That's what I mean when I talk about "seducing yourself into shape." It just involves those simple every day opportunities that each of us has to make increased activity a natural, fun part of our lives.

Dr. Rippe is an attending cardiologist, Associate Professor of Medicine, and Director of the Exercise Physiology and Nutrition Laboratory at the University of Massachusetts Medical School.

TEN TIPS TO SEDUCE YOURSELF INTO SHAPE

Tip	*Comments*
1. Develop a Specific Plan	Write down your specific commitment to yourself.
2. Set Realistic Goals	Remember consistent activity is the goal.
3. Use Motivational Equipment	Seek advice from a friend who participates in the activity you are planning.
4. Establish a Definite Time and Place	Make an appointment with yourself.
5. Involve Your Family and Friends	Ask for their support or better yet, take them along with you.
6. Vary Your Activity	Fight boredom before it occurs
7. Avoid Injury	Use proper technique, proper equipment and proper warm-up and cool down.
8. Build Up Gradually	Lifelong fitness is a race won by the tortoise, not the hare.
9. Keep a Record	Seeing your progress in black and white is very motivational.
10. Reward Yourself	Remember to celebrate your good efforts on your own behalf.

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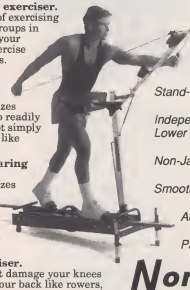
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MOVIES

Going Gaga in Lotusland

Martin takes on L.A.

As a target for satire, Los Angeles is the equivalent of an elephant wearing a big neon sign: SHOOT ME. But bringing this baby down isn't as easy as it looks. By wearing its absurdity so casually on its sleeve, L.A. has a way of rendering satire redundant. Remember the comic overkill of "The Loved One"? Frantically attacking Lotusland vulgarity, the filmmakers themselves ended up looking vulgar.

In **L.A. Story,** Steve Martin rushes in where wise men fear to tread and makes merry sport with the city of the angels. As both the writer and star, Martin brings a puckish sense of irony that sets the right tone of sunny, silly disenchantment: the movie's a fond sendup. It's also Martin's most personal film: call it his sunbaked version of "Annie Hall." He plays antic TV weatherman Harris K. Telemacher. A cultured, unhappy soul, Harris feels demeaned by his job and stuck in a bad relationship with his girlfriend (Marilu Henner). Then he gets a magical sign predicting his life will change: a digital freeway sign speaks to him in riddles. His fairy princess appears in the form of Sara (Victoria Tennant, a.k.a. Mrs. Martin), an English journalist whose ex-husband (Richard E. Grant) unfortunately wants her back.

A lot of the movie's targets are familiar ones—earthquakes, freeway shootouts, trendy-unto-death restaurants, the youth culture. If a few of the gags are beyond restoration, director Mick Jackson keeps them whizzing by so fast you don't mind the misses. At a chic brunch the throwaway lines come with dizzy rapidity. "I understand you're taking a course in the art of conversation?" Martin chitchats with a woman. "Yes." Jackson, who has done wonderful work on British television ("Double Helix"), never belabors a joke, and when the story turns magical, gives it just the right lyric spin.

The love story, alas, never quite clicks. Tennant's part is too cryptically written, and her performance too chilly for any real romantic sparks to fly. It's more amusing watching Martin's temporary affair with a young, gum-chewing, aerobotized salesgirl played, with hilarious gusto, by Sarah Jessica Parker. "L.A. Story" won't win any awards for formal perfection—it's sometimes as amorphous as L.A. itself; it sprawls when you'd like it to deepen—but tidiness is a minor virtue in comedy. More to the point, "L.A. Story" is giddy fun.

DAVID ANSEN



MARCIA REED

Running in place on the trendoid treadmill: *Martin with Henner (to his left) at brunch*

Falling Head Over Heels in Beantown

It's best to see **Once Around** knowing little about it, for this is one movie that keeps you constantly guessing where it's headed. Is this praise? Yes and no. It's refreshing to encounter a movie that doesn't fit the current copycat formulas, and this richly populated familial comedy never fails to keep you *interested,* but what it all adds up to is a bit of a puzzle, if not a muddle—albeit a well-acted, entertaining muddle.

The heroine of Malia Scotch Marmo's screenplay is the headstrong Renata Bella (Holly Hunter), a member of a Boston Italian family so close-knit she still crawls into her parents' bed for comfort. (Danny Aiello and Gena Rowlands are the parents). Jilted by her beau, the intense Renata heads for the Caribbean to sell time shares in condos, and there she falls for Sam Sharpe (Richard Dreyfuss), a rich, vulgar and altogether overbearing white-haired salesman whose romantic intensity matches her own.

The viewer gulps. Why is she falling for this huckster? Doesn't she see he's a gladhanding phony? We wait for his dark secrets to be revealed, but director Lasse Hallström ("My Life as a Dog") is playing a different game. Renata brings Sam back to Boston and we watch her family react to him as we did—with anxious suspicion. But Sam's swagger, money and love are for real, and he's so determined to marry Renata—and win over her family—that he moves his business to Boston. His selfish, bullying love begins to tear the Bella family apart, setting loose a tide of unresolved Oedipal undercurrents as he challenges Aiello's patriarchal role. Hallström is amazingly successful at getting us to view Sam as simultaneously admirable and appalling. (Dreyfuss was born to play this part—he's Duddy Kravitz as the Life Force.) "Once Around" is funny and always alive, but there's something bogus at its heart—a willful, sentimental eccentricity that would rather strong-arm you with Affirmation than deal with the questions it raises. This is both recommendation and warning: "Once Around" is easy to take but hard to swallow.

D.A.



JIM BRIDGES

Is this in-law from heaven or hell? *Rowlands, Hunter, Dreyfuss*

BOOKS

Happy Motoring in Mexico

Charles Portis's wonderful high-test hi-jinks

BY MALCOLM JONES JR.

Maybe there's a fiction writer out there who knows more about what goes on beneath the hood of a car than Charles Portis, but probably not. Leaking crankcases, thrown rods, busted solenoid switches, slack in the steering, these are the oily touchstones of Portis reality. The eponymous hero of Portis's first novel, "Norwood," worked in a gas station. Raymond Midge, the cuckolded fussbudget in "The Dog of the South," chases down to Central America not so much to get his wife back as to reclaim his car. And Portis isn't three pages into **Gringos** *(269 pages. Simon and Schuster. $18.95),* his wonderful new novel, before his hero, Jimmy Burns, is happily changing the oil in his truck.

This preoccupation with wheels, or the lack thereof, is one of the leitmotifs that Portis uses to anchor his stories in the day-to-day that most of us inhabit. The difference between Portis and all the other writers eager to make fiction out of life at the K mart is his fractured, what's-wrong-with-this-picture take on things. When Norwood Pratt journeys to New York City from his home in Ralph, Texas, among the people he encounters are some "shirtless Puerto Rican boys ... roasting marshmallows over a smoldering mattress" on the sidewalk: " 'You boys having a big time?'

" 'It's a campfire,' said one. He was wearing huge comic sunglasses and had his head tilted back to keep them on. He offered Norwood a blackened marshmallow from the end of a straightened-out coat hanger.

" 'I believe I'd rather have one right out of the sack. They ain't gonna taste like anything cooked over hair'."



JONATHAN PORTIS
Loopy: *The author*

Portis has always enjoyed a healthy word-of-mouth reputation among readers, but the literary establishment's reaction might be summed up by one scholar who, when he heard Portis's name, said, "He's sort of a Louis L'Amour, isn't he?" John Wayne in an eye patch may have been the worst thing that ever happened to a book about which the novelist Robert Crichton once said, "If a European intellectual asked me what he should read to understand what goes on in the people here I'd tell him to read 'True Grit'." Maybe Portis is too funny to be taken seriously, maybe his loopy plots fail to teach enough uplifting lessons. Whatever the reasons, critics have never known what to make of Portis's original, contrary voice.

Maybe no more. "Gringos" is high-test Portis. It concerns a community of footloose Americans in the Mexican town of Mérida, on the Yucatán peninsula. Deadbeats, outlaws, burnt-out cases, old hippies, astral nuts, crystal gazers, tomb looters, these expatriates are like a drawer of odd socks: "Minim was in the Bowling Hall of Fame. He was a retired



bowler and sports poet, and he maintained that bowling was held in even lower esteem than poetry, though it was a close call."

Jimmy Burns is just one of this gang, an odd-jobs guy who makes his way selling salvaged junk, tracking down runaways, doing what needs doing to earn a more or less honest dollar. For all his shiftlessness, Burns is good company. Unlike the other gringos, he won't traffic in self-deception. Wry, deprecating honesty is his trademark. When his authority on Mayan relics is challenged—"Rudy says you're not a college-trained archeologist"—he replies, "Well, he's right about that. All I know is that the older stuff is usually on the bottom."

When first met, Burns is marking time like the rest of the gringos: "Another year gone and I was still scratching around on this limestone peninsula . . . Once again there had been no scramble among the hostesses of Mérida to see who could get me for Christmas dinner." Then, in a scene as scary as Fred C. Dobbs's encounter with the bandits in "The Treasure of the Sierra Madre," he butts heads with the Jumping Jacks, a gang of cultists run by a fat biker called Big Dan, sort of a Jim Jones with tattoos and a beer belly. "Big Dan looked like a wrestling act, beef gone to fat, but with his costume not quite worked out."

Burns trails the Jumping Jacks for most



of the novel, looking for a runaway he's spotted among them. But his motives, though mostly mercenary, are mixed. He's also searching for his friend Rudy Kurle, a space-invaders theorist lost in the jungle looking for the runways of the gods.

Like Portis's other novels, this one has a ramshackle feel, like an old house with curious, oddly pleasing additions poking out here and there. You don't read them so much as you inhabit them for a while. Only this time Portis works his usual alternation between aimlessness and purposefulness with a deftness not seen since "True Grit." Mostly he permits Jimmy Burns to meander along in his cockeyed fashion. But underneath the comic ambling lies a bedrock melancholy. Again and again, death comes calling. An old archeologist falls dead at the dinner table. Then Old Emmett goes. And Frau Kobold. But death comes most frighteningly near the end of the book, from the twin barrels of a shotgun. Mortality hones the anomie off the gringo life, and gives this story a spooky edge.

All of Portis's protagonists are questing for something. Mattie Ross wants revenge for her father's murder. Norwood Pratt wants the 70 bucks owed him by his Army buddy Joe William Reese. Ray Midge wants the satisfaction of getting his Ford Torino back. But the best of all, Jimmy Burns, just wants to lay claim to some peace of mind. "Gringos," by far, is Portis's most inward-turning book, a story of a grown-up trying to grow up, to keep it together with some dignity. Watching him pull it off is one of the finest pleasures afforded by any novel in a long time. ■



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EBET ROBERTS

Mighty blouse: *Robinson pays homage*

ENTERTAINMENT

As the Black Crowes Fly

There's a flip side to the bottled razzle-dazzle of Milli Vanilli: bottled authenticity. It's the neatly packaged return of the real thing. And no one hawks it with as much spunk as the Black Crowes. All in their early 20s, the Crowes have parlayed their loving rehashes of early '70s Rolling Stones and Rod Stewart moves into sales of more than a million copies of their debut album, "Shake Your Money Maker."

Last year, for the first time since 1963, no rock-and-roll band had a No. 1 album. This is a queer factoid—mostly because it doesn't count Bonnie Raitt as a rock band—but it's a resounding one. Rap and computer-driven dance music have pushed orthodox rock into the margins. The success of the Black Crowes is a response to this. These guys are orthodox with a vengeance: they wear the red velvet pants and the scarves, and purse their lips just right, even when there isn't a mirror in sight. Singer Chris Robinson knows how to wear a blouse. And they write good songs. When a sneaky chord change in their single, "Jealous Again," suddenly lands them in the middle of the chorus, it's a reminder of how strange and exciting the familiar can be.

The music never *feels* like the real thing, though. When the Rolling Stones or Stewart plunged into the music, they didn't know what would happen next. The Black Crowes know what happened, and don't like it. So they end up embalming the wild past with their good taste. That's the problem with being earnest: the band can't tease and taunt, even while it enshrines the boys who did. The Crowes are trustworthy where they ought to be cool.

JOHN LELAND

The Cheery Titan of Terror

Koontz scares the wits out of folks—to their joy

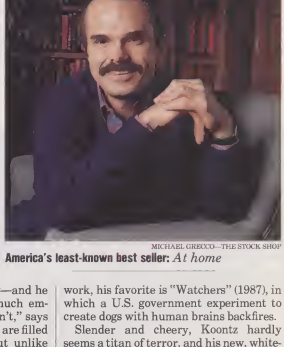
It came as no surprise to booksellers when Dean R. Koontz's newest novel leapt to the top spot on the best-seller charts last month. Following in the creepy footsteps of "Midnight" and "The Bad Place," **Cold Fire** *(382 pages. Putnam. $22.95)* was almost doomed to succeed. After all, more than 60 million copies of Koontz's 55 books have been sold. At 45, he is undoubtedly the least-known best-selling author in America.

Professors may not rush to add Koontz to their syllabi, but for his ardent fans, his page-turning blend of psychological terror, science fiction, humor and romance is irresistible. And "Cold Fire" doesn't disappoint; it tempts a reader to pull an all-nighter . . . with the lights on and the doors locked. As with Koontz's other novels, it revolves around seemingly ordinary people caught in extraordinary circumstances. Without knowing why, schoolteacher Jim Ironheart repeatedly takes off on Superman-like lifesaving trips around the world. After reporter Holly Thorne witnesses a rescue, she tracks him down. She thinks Ironheart is psychic (how else could he know in advance which innocent people to save?); he thinks God is working through him. After a harrowing visit to Ironheart's childhood town, they uncover the secret of his powers.

Despite frequent comparisons, Koontz is no Stephen King—and he doesn't try to be. "He pretty much embraces the horror label, and I don't," says Koontz. Certainly Koontz's books are filled with dark forces and death. But unlike King, he is bullish on life; his novels invariably close with happily-ever-after endings.

Koontz bristles at suggestions that his books follow a formula—but they do, and it's a successful one. In fact, his books loosely mirror the ingredients that have shaped his own life: tragedy, nightmares and romance. He grew up terrified of his violent, alcoholic father and learned to work out his nightmares on the typewriter. (By the age of 8, he was already hawking his stories to relatives.) Similarly, Koontz's characters experience and overcome horrors beyond their control. And like Koontz, his characters are "happy in love," as he puts it. He has been married to his high-school sweetheart, Gerda, for 24 years.

He got his first break at 20, when he won an Atlantic Monthly fiction contest for a story about a farm girl whose father drowns her kittens—and then tells her that God killed them. Often under pen names, Koontz spent years churning out suspense books in relative obscurity. But with the 1986 "Strangers," his first hardcover success, he dropped the use of his eight pseudonyms. Now, under his own name, he is reissuing his best books, one of which was made into the 1977 movie "Demon Seed," about a woman impregnated by a power-hungry supercomputer. Of all his work, his favorite is "Watchers" (1987), in which a U.S. government experiment to create dogs with human brains backfires.



MICHAEL GRECCO—THE STOCK SHOP

America's least-known best seller: *At home*

Slender and cheery, Koontz hardly seems a titan of terror, and his new, white-carpeted, light-filled southern California home is hardly a horrordome. The only visible sign of obsession is Koontz's vast book collection: despite a recent pruning, 25,000 volumes still line his shelves. When he's not immersed in those books, he's holing up for 10-hour writing stretches. The long sessions give him "greater empathy for my characters," he says. Consumed with the psychotic killer in "Whispers" (1980), he lost 20 pounds while feverishly writing almost nonstop. For their 20th anniversary, he and Gerda took their first vacation in a decade. Their cruise hit a hurricane. Says Koontz: "It was like God saying, 'You think you need a vacation?'"

KAREN SPRINGEN

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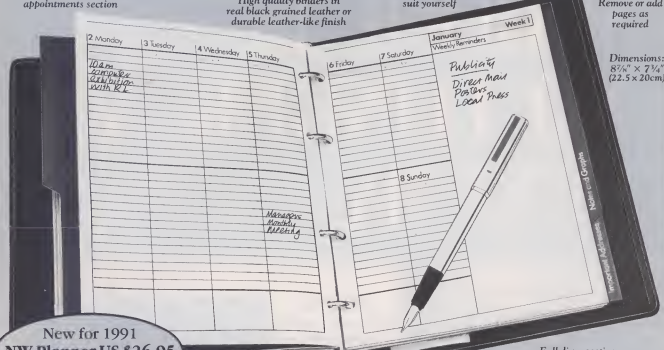
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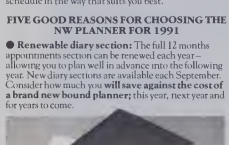
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CLIFF LIPSON

Covering up for the Saudi Arabian censors: *Oscar and Cher*

Cher-ing With the Troops

Cher wasn't exactly herself when she hosted a VH-1 special for the troops last week. "I had to be covered from head to toe," she says. She even held an Operation Desert Storm T shirt over her knees to hide her stylishly ripped jeans. As host, Cher provided between-video chat from her patriotically decked-out Malibu home. The show features Jimi Hendrix, Bonnie Raitt and the Rolling Stones. "I would have liked to include my videos," says Cher, "but none of them made it past the Saudi Arabian censors."

TRANSITION

UNSEALED: The papers of the great American writer **H. L. Mencken;** at libraries in Baltimore and Hanover, N.H., Jan. 30. Before his death, Mencken sent out three sets of his papers with instructions to open them 35 years after he died. One library official called him the "greatest posthumous self-promoter" ever.

DIED: Football great **Harold** (Red) **Grange,** 87; of complications of pneumonia, in Lake Wales, Fla., Jan. 28. A halfback for the University of Illinois and the Chicago Bears, Grange's exploits on the field made him a superstar in the 1920s and a legend for the rest of his life. The "Galloping Ghost" once rushed for 265 yards and 4 touchdowns in the first 12 minutes of a game. Sportswriter Grantland Rice called him "a streak of fire, a breath of flame."

Two-time Nobel Prize winner **John Bardeen,** 83; of a heart attack, in Boston, Jan. 30. Bardeen, seen in the scientific community as a genius on a par with Einstein, was the last survivor of the Bell Telephone Laboratories team that invented the transistor—which revolutionized electronics. A fellow University of Illinois professor once said: "It's impossible to measure the number of lives he touched."

Pete Axthelm, award-winning former NEWSWEEK columnist and sports commentator, 47; while awaiting a liver transplant in Pittsburgh, Feb. 2. A Yale grad, "Ax" brought literary grace, raffish style and amazing speed to subjects from football and gambling to Olympic terrorism, the Son of Sam murders, troubled kids and country music. His basketball book, "The City Game," is a classic. Axthelm joked about his simple tastes: beautiful women, fast horses, old whiskey, expensive cigars, Faulkner novels, Willie Nelson songs, lobsters and Gucci loafers.

Family Style

The Addams family is coming to life again—this time on the big screen, with Anjelica Huston, Raul Julia and Christopher Lloyd starring. Comedy is a change for Julia, but he's having a monstrously good time. In the Barry Sonnenfeld film, due next Christmas, he sings, dances, fences and oozes his Latin charm on Morticia. And though the characters are old, he swears the jokes are new. This is one movie that promises to be altogether kooky.



JEAN PAGLIUSO

Kooky: *Julia, Huston, Lloyd*



BARTHELEMY—SIPA

The lampshade look: *A Lacroix*

Dark Shadows

Who turned out the City of Light? Though the couture spring shows went on as scheduled, Paris simply was not the place to be last week. It isn't very chic to gaze at pricey fashions with a war on. American editors and socialites stayed away in droves, and many magazines insisted their people stay home. (Vogue's daring editor, Anna Wintour, sneaked over anyway.) From the looks of the runways, the no-shows didn't miss much. Take this tent number from Christian Lacroix—please. Somebody had to wear the lampshade.

A Very Rude Awakening

Oliver Sacks was sacked last week. The neurologist and author of "Awakenings," now a hit movie, was one of those laid off from the Bronx Psychiatric Center due to cuts in the New York State budget. Sacks calls the situation "tragic" for care in state hospitals. But he's not completely out of a job. There's always his writing career.

LYDIA DENWORTH



FRANK ÖCKENFELS—OUTLINE

Out of a job: *Neurologist Sacks*

FORGOTTEN

While my brother Terry Anderson was running around the world as a Marine, a combat correspondent in Vietnam, and a journalist for the Associated Press in South Africa and Beirut, I was busy raising two kids, getting divorced, remarried, moving around. I waited tables for years and then got into cooking and tending bar.

I never did know Terry all that well. He was seven years younger and sort of a nonentity in our family as a kid. Quiet, well behaved, he managed to carve a place for himself that nobody much noticed.

In 1979 we were sitting in the dead Florida quiet of my house, catching up. I asked him how he felt about what he was doing. He started talking about his life and his work, one and the same to him. Terry was caught up in the spirit of his job; he had the great ability to influence people by what he wrote, and he took that responsibility seriously. I liked his commitment to his work, his moral standards.

In 1984, Terry came home on leave again—but cocky, arrogant, kind of cold. I did not like what Lebanon had done to my brother.

Once he got back to Lebanon, Terry would call in Sundays, just to chat, and I began trying to get him home. He was telling me the latest of his adventure stories when I broke in. "Terry, the joke is over. It's time to get out of there."

"You don't understand," he told me. "They don't kidnap journalists. It would be counter-productive. These people need me; I tell their story to the world. That's my job and they know it."

Less than a week later, three men armed with automatic weapons wrestled Terry Anderson out of a car as he was returning from a tennis game.

'AS MUCH NOISE AS POSSIBLE'

A week after Terry was taken, we got a call from the State Department saying they wanted to send a representative to visit us.

"What should I do?" I asked the man.

"It's not my place to advise you," he told me, "but if I were you, I would make as much noise as possible. The State Department's official position is to tell you not to go to Washington, to keep a low profile. But you get your behind up there. Go see everyone you can see. Make them look you in the eye, so that every time they think of Terry Anderson, they'll see your face."

The Associated Press decided to arrange and pay for a three-day Washington blitz by Terry's Lebanese fiancée, Madeleine, my sister Judy and me. We were met, chaperoned and pointed in all the right directions by an AP representative, and coached on each meeting: "You've only got one line and you stick to it: Your brother is a hostage and you want him out. How can they help you, what advice can they give you?"

We saw the Algerians, the Germans, the Japanese, the Syrians. I'd never met anyone from any of those countries before. I had a hard time keeping them straight on a map. I was absorbing everything as fast as I could, but my head was buzzing.

Our chief contact at the State Department was a man named Bob Oakley. He was head of the Office of Counter-Terrorism.

We knew that Terry had been kidnapped by Islamic Jihad, specifically by a man named Imad Mughniyah, a member of the Shiite fundamentalist group called the Hezbollah. The Islamic Jihad had, in return for the release of the American hostages, demanded the release of seventeen Arab prisoners being held in Kuwait. The State Department and anyone even vaguely familiar with the situation over there, knew that the only prisoner the Hezbollah was really interested in was Mughniyah's brother-in-law, who had been sentenced to death for terrorism but had his sentence commuted to life in prison. The situation seemed obvious. "Why can't you talk to Kuwait," I asked Oakley, "and see if they are willing to deal?"



The Arafat lunch: *'It's probably part of PLO lore, the time that*

From FORGOTTEN by Peggy Say and Peter Knobler. Copyright © 1991 by Peggy Say and Peter Knobler. To be published by Simon & Schuster.

A sister's ongoing struggle to save Terry Anderson, America's longest-held hostage.

By Peggy Say and Peter Knobler



ILLUSTRATIONS BY JEFF SMITH

ostage lady followed the chairman to the john. The place erupted.'

"Oh, Peggy," he said as he leaned back in his chair, "we couldn't possibly do that. We don't interfere in the internal politics of another country."

"Excuse me?" I had a hard time with that one. "My tax dollars are financing rebels in Nicaragua and you are going to sit there and tell me that we don't interfere in the internal politics of another country?"

Oakley just shrugged his shoulders. He seemed embarrassed.

Then came the TWA hijacking. TWA Flight No. 847 was going from Cairo to Rome with 153 passengers, including 104 Americans, when it was hijacked by two Lebanese Shiites. At first President Reagan took a hard line, saying there would be no concessions, no negotiations, no linkage between the passengers on TWA 847 and any prisoners held anywhere in the world.

Nineteen days into the hijacking, at one in the morning, I got a call from the State Department. The TWA hostages were supposed to get out the next day. In exchange for their freedom the Israelis had agreed—of course with U.S. blessings, though we've never admitted it—to release three hundred Shiite political prisoners. Our State Department liaison, Jackie Ratner, said, "Peggy, we have reason to believe that when the hostages reach Damascus, Terry and the others will be with them."

Terry's friends in Beirut were monitoring the situation. One called me the same night. "Peggy, you've been screwed. Reagan made a deal and he left out the seven. Reagan could not wait for the seven." The President didn't want to be embarrassed one moment longer.

The State Department used to send me photocopies of various newspaper articles, mostly concerning Terry. One day I turned one of those copies over and saw penciled notations on the back. It was somebody's notes on hostage Peter Kilburn! They were deal points.

According to these notes we knew where Kilburn was and who had him, and the captors wanted money. It was going to be a cash-for-hostage ransom—that simple. So much for not negotiating with terrorists. What was even more disturbing was that the exchange was within two days of being made—and then Ronald Reagan bombed Libya. Kilburn and three other Western hostages were purchased by Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi and killed. "Oh, my God!" said the State Department person who sent me the clippings. "Please send it back." I did, but not before I made some photocopies of my own.

The Sheraton Lobby Campaign

My visa for Syria came through after a trip to Athens at the invitation of Margaret Papandreou, then the wife of the Greek Prime Minister, a friend of Syria's President Assad.

The AP stringer in Damascus sent his Buick to the airport, a huge white American car that was extremely conspicuous on the Damascus streets, to take us to the Damascus Sheraton.

What a place! The buzz that runs through the Damascus Sheraton is the pulse of Middle Eastern politics. Almost every person coming into Damascus for high-level meetings or business is going to pass through that hotel's lobby. It is a huge space, broken up into many separate alcoves by pillows, and banquettes, and tables and chairs.

I staked out a sofa to the right of the bank of elevators and had a perfect view of everyone who came and went. I always carried a stack of photographs of Terry and I would say, "My name is Peggy Say and I'm here trying to get information about my brother, the hostage Terry Anderson. This is his picture. If you hear anything, I would truly appreciate your calling me. I will meet with anyone to get my brother home."

On about the fifth day I started toward General Alfeid, chief of the Arab Democratic Party and head of the Syrian army in Lebanon. I was only a couple of steps away when he said, "I know, I know. You are Mrs. Say, you want your brother out. I have just come from President Assad's office and I am leaving right now for Beirut. I will try to find your brother." He had his hands up, almost physically warding me off, and was backing away as I was trying to buttonhole him. He seemed put-upon, half amused. I thought, "Pretty soon they're going to start greeting me with a whip and a chair."

Back home after three weeks, I began to think of myself as living in two worlds. Reporters would laugh at my appointment schedule posted on the kitchen. It would say things like "Get groceries. Make appointment with Syrian ambassador. Pick up dry cleaning."

'GIVE OLLIE TEN DAYS'

What began as a botched negotiation ended up as Iran-contra. There had been rumors floating around for months but the implications just seemed too bizarre to be based in truth: the U.S. selling arms to Iran through Israel? A low-level State Department functionary had mentioned it to me, so I assume that, if they were telling me, it was an open secret around State. Ambassador Richard Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, had to have known that Marine Lt. Col. Oliver North was up to something. He had spent an afternoon telling me to shut my mouth and stop blasting the Administration for another ten days. "Give Ollie ten days," he had told me.

Although I never told him, my code name for Ollie was "Colonel Flagg," the secret intelligence agent in M*A*S*H who was always coming up with maniacal schemes. Still, there was only one man I had met in government who seemed to have the willingness, the zeal and the capacity to get my brother home.

Ollie was reluctant to stop the initiative because middleman profits made in the sale of arms to Iran were going to fund the contras in Nicaragua. Anyone who had been around Ollie for more than two minutes knew that he had two political priorities in his life: the contra rebels and the hostages in Lebanon. Having stumbled into a major initiative that could conceivably have resolved both dilemmas, Ollie rolled up his sleeves and started dealing.

And Ollie North didn't happen in a vacuum. There were officials in high places who made the decision to "let Ollie do it." Tired, overburdened, and slightly crazed with power, Ollie *did* do it. At least Ollie accepted his part of the blame.

People found it difficult to criticize President Reagan. They had no such difficulty castigating the hostage families and me. It was as if we personally had strong-armed the President into defying national policy, or breaking the law.

Early in January 1990 I got a call from Larry Heinzerling at the AP. They were developing an extensive itinerary for me—a month-long trip to Switzerland, Paris, London, the Vatican, Syria and Tunisia.

In Tunisia, we had been told we would see Yasser Arafat. Two cars screeched into our hotel parking lot and a band of PLO guys jumped out and began waving us in. Everybody had an automatic weapon. We drove a short way down the road and turned sharply into a compound.

The place was teeming with people. Mostly it was young Arab men, PLO security in casual dress. Weapons but no uniforms.

When I first saw Arafat he was sitting at the end of a long table on kind of a raised dais. The table was piled high with food and every seat was taken. Arafat waved several people away from the table to make room for us. Seated on Arafat's left, I was startled to see him without his head gear—completely bald. When photos were taken, he put on a hat.

In front of me was someone else's meal. They took that away and brought me a fresh plate but left the used cutlery and the smudged water glass. Arafat leaned over and, with his hands, plopped a huge hunk of lamb onto my plate.

It was obviously not the time for a discussion. In fact Arafat was not addressing me at all. Suddenly he gave a grunt, leapt out of his chair, and started striding across the living room next to where we were eating. I thought, "Now we're going to have our meeting." I got out of my seat and began to follow him. The rest of our AP entourage got up and followed me. Behind one couch was a hallway and Arafat careened on ahead. I was a couple of steps behind, trying to catch up, but at the end of the hall I lost him. The AP gang piled into me like the Three Stooges in the Casbah. Behind us a woman was screaming. "What are you doing. The chairman is going to the bathroom!"

The PLO boys with their automatic weapons were just about rolling on the floor with laughter. The whole place erupted. By now it's probably part of PLO lore, the time that American hostage lady followed the chairman to the john.

When Arafat emerged it was indeed time to talk. Arafat was sympathetic. He said that, over the years, he had done what he could to help get the hostages freed. Now, however, the situation was beyond his influence. Arafat also said he would be in a better position to free my brother were it in the power of the captors to do so. But they basically no longer had any say. Those decisions were being made in Iran.

This was more confirmation than surprise. We had heard that if it were up to Iran's President Rafsanjani the hostages would have been released in November. There had been a plan to that effect. However, the hard-liner Ali Akbar Mohtashemi, the new political leader of Hezbollah, had made a three-week trip to Lebanon, taken over their control and moved them out of reach of Syria.

In Syria, officials wanted the captors to know that enough was enough. They were saying, "If you're going to cut a deal for these people, you'd damn well better do it now because they are rapidly decreasing in value," and they wanted that message to come from me. It was to be a taped interview and I was terrified that I was going to say something wrong and get my brother killed.

What I said on Syrian TV was this: "The captors ask for ransom. If I had ten million dollars in my hands today and they said, 'Give it to us and we'll give you your brother,' I'd say, 'Not a dime. Not a *dime*!' I'm not going to pay anymore. I've paid. My family has paid in pain and heartache.' "

THE GULF WAR

I had been convinced after my trip in February and a subsequent meeting with President Bush that we were definitely on the road to resolution.

Rumors began surfacing from reliable sources that the hostages were coming home; August was the month, and once again hope was nurtured. There was nothing that could happen this time, I was sure, that could possibly derail the initiatives to release the hostages.

On August 2, 1990, President Saddam Hussein's Iraqi army invaded Kuwait, and once again the mess hit the fan.

Not only did the Iraqi invasion create a world crisis, it had a direct effect on Terry and the other hostages. Imad Mughniyah's brother-in-law and the other prisoners being demanded by the captors in exchange for the Western hostages were in jail in Kuwait, enemies of the invading Iraqi government. For days we agonized over their fate. Would Hussein's army summarily execute them? Would they be used as bargaining chips in inter-regional prisoner swaps? Had they escaped? [U.S. officials told NEWSWEEK that all the prisoners had escaped to Lebanon or Iran, but that Iran might not jeopardize its neutral stance in the gulf war by pressing for release of the Beirut hostages.]

Our cause was in the toilet again as thousands of hostages were taken in Kuwait and the airwaves were filled with their pictures and stories. With thousands of innocent Americans caught up in international terrorist activities, few people wanted to hear about six hostages in Lebanon.

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On August 24, Irish hostage Brian Keenan was released. I had very mixed feelings about going to Ireland to see him. It had been several years since I had had firsthand reports about Terry's life and conditions, and I wasn't at all sure that I wanted to hear about them now. What if things had deteriorated? What if Terry was sick or had lost hope?

Keenan hadn't seen Terry in almost a year but he said that the night before he was released he was taken into what he knew to be Terry and Tom Sutherland's room. He felt they had been taken out of there only temporarily because all their things were still there. He explored the room and found Terry's Bibles. Terry was doing a historical study of the Bible, he said, and had learned French from Tom. He had a Bible in French as well as a Catholic and a Protestant Bible in English.

There also were two bolts on the wall that the hostages' eighteen-inch chains usually hung from. And pushed up next to the wall, close enough so Terry could ride it and still remained chained, was an exercise bicycle. That bizarre picture stayed in my mind, Terry in his underwear on his exercise bike. I could just kind of hear him clanking and pedaling, pedaling and clanking.

ANGER FADES

By the end I was trembling, shaking, and crying, and I just couldn't stop. I have always been afraid, in the back of my mind, that I was not doing the right thing for Terry.

Brian assured me that Terry was aware of what I was doing . . . and that he loved it. Terry had the best lines of communication of any of the hostages, he said, because of me: not only was Terry given the letters that we published in the Beirut papers on his birthdays, but every time there was a story about my travels or meetings the jailers showed it to him.

"Why," Brian laughed, "they told him one time they were going to make you an honorary member of the Islamic Jihad. Terry said he didn't think you'd be too thrilled by that but thought they knew a fellow terrorist when they saw one."

There it was, the obvious opening for the dreaded question. There was no avoiding it.

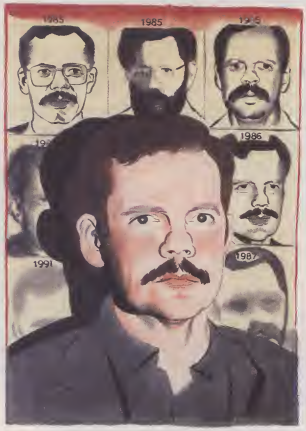
"Brian, if they liked or admired what I was doing, does that mean that I prolonged Terry's captivity? Did they keep him so that I would continue to plead their cause?" I didn't know that I wanted to hear his answer.

"Hell, no," he said. "Terry said that he knew the day he was taken that it would be at least five years until he saw freedom again. He knew he'd be the last one out, and he's lived with that reality for the past five and a half years.

"What you've done is to provide him with a link to the outside world. Through your efforts he knows that he's not forgotten, that everyone has done their best to free him, and that one day, hopefully soon, he'll see freedom."

This didn't sound like the Terry Anderson I had known, or the Terry in captivity I had heard about. "Is Terry mad at the AP?" I asked. "Is Terry mad at the government? Who's Terry mad at?"

Brian looked puzzled. "He's not mad at anybody, really," he said.



Anderson: *'I love you, little brother, more than I knew'*

For the hostages, the five and a half years had been like they'd been for us, their families: cyclical. It's almost like the stages of grieving: first the denial, then the anger, finally the acceptance of what is. The hostages had passed through all those phases, and in the last year or two they had become very introspective, very moral.

They had made a pact with one another, Brian told me: they would do things with their lives on the outside that would have value, that would be moral, that would make a better world. And each would see to it that the promises they made in captivity were kept. If anybody started straying, the others would phone him up and say, "Hey, get back on line here."

I had kept a fantasy close to my heart. I had pictured myself taking Terry around to all the people who had turned their backs on me, everyone who had been callous or mean. I kept thinking, "All you people who hurt me, you just wait till my brother gets home. Are you going to be sorry."

It wasn't going to be. I was not going to get my revenge, as little and as unsatisfactory as it might have been. "Look, Peggy," Brian said, "there's nothing more you can do. Quit."

I was crying, just blubbering and shaking as I said to him, "Brian, I don't know how. I don't know how to stop what I'm doing. I don't know anybody I can go to who can reassure me that 'Yes, you've done everything you can, it's going to be over with. Go home.' "

Facing the fact of Terry's acceptance, his lack of anger, however, I felt mine starting to dissipate, almost a physical release at the anger leaving me. I realized I can't do any more than my part. I've had a role to play in this, and the very fact that we sustained an unpopular issue for five and a half years—that those who know there are hostages in Lebanon know Terry Anderson, that I've given him a future—has to be enough. I did the only thing I could do. Whether it was right or wrong, whether it did or did not prolong Terry's captivity, I couldn't not do it.

I love you, little brother, much more than I ever knew. ■

Itchy, flaky scalp?

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Possible Causes	Occasional increase in cell turnover. Changes in the weather. Not shampooing often enough or rinsing well enough.	On-going rapid cell turnover. "Styling cap" from coatings of gels, sprays, etc. Using a shampoo that's ineffective for your condition. Psoriasis or seborrheic dermatitis.	Stubborn cell build-up. Resistant psoriasis or seborrheic dermatitis.
What works	A dandruff shampoo containing pyrithione zinc or selenium sulfide. Use as directed whenever the need arises.	Neutrogena® T/Gel® Therapeutic Shampoo. It's gentle enough to use every time you shampoo, so you'll have full-time control.	Neutrogena® T/Sal® Therapeutic Shampoo: use until the crusty build-up subsides. (Then use T/Gel to control itching and flaking between flare-ups.)
What you can expect	Choice of scents, lathers, consistencies. Widely available. Hair looks healthy and shiny.	Guaranteed relief of itching and flaking. Pleasant to use. Good fragrance, rich lather. Hair looks healthy and shiny.	Guaranteed removal of thick, crusty build-up. Pleasant fragrance and rich lather. Hair looks healthy and shiny.
Conditioning (if needed)	Use an oil-free conditioner to minimize build-up.	Use Neutrogena® T/Gel® Conditioner to extend the therapeutic action of T/Gel Shampoo.	Use Neutrogena T/Gel Conditioner to extend the therapeutic action of both T/Sal and T/Gel Shampoo.
Bottom Line Benefit	Temporary relief when you need it.	Control of persistent itching and flaking.	Pleasant therapy for severe scalp build-up.

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The Military Meritocracy



Today the armed services are, to hear some critics tell it, too integrated

In many old World War II movies an officer named Winthrop (or some such white-bread WASPy name) tells a sergeant (O'Reilly, like a cop) to get volunteers for a dangerous mission. Forward steps an ethnic salad: Kowalski, Bloomberg, Positano, Sanchez, Graff. But no blacks.

Bigotry in the war had one benefit for its victims: fewer casualties. Nearly 75 percent of blacks in service were in the Army, which by September 1944 was 8.7 percent black. Several black units saw heavy fighting. The famous 92nd Division suffered more than 3,000 casualties in Europe and received more than 12,000 decorations and citations. But most blacks were in combat support (engineers, transportation, quartermasters). Only 2.8 percent of the combat arms (infantry, artillery, cavalry, armor) were blacks.

Today the services are, to hear some critics tell it, too integrated. Blacks are a larger portion of the services than of the population, and a larger portion of enlisted personnel than of officers. Blacks are about 12 percent of the population, 20 percent of the services (33 percent of the Army, 20 of the Marines, 15 of the Navy and Air Force) and only about 7 percent of officers. Many who complain about the low number of black officers are the same people who, by stigmatizing American society, and not least the military, have discouraged blacks from making the sort of military careers that lead to commissions.

An ancillary benefit of today's war may be the further discrediting of anachronistic and blinkered black leadership. Many leaders—Jesse Jackson, Benjamin Hooks and the like—seem to believe that black power depends on portraying blacks as victims of an unrelievedly racist society. This idea has led America waist-deep into the quagmire of counting by race in order to engineer "correct" balances here, there and everywhere.

Some black leaders and their white allies have a political interest in regarding blacks, and getting blacks to regard themselves, as victims who must be wards of government, and of politicians mediating the distribution of benefits. The rickety structure of affirmative action, quotas and the rest of the racial spoils system depends on victimology—winning for certain groups the lucrative status of victim.

Understandably, the focus of blacks in Congress is on domestic policy. Only two of 55 members of the House Armed Services Committee are black and only two of 46 members of the Foreign Affairs Committee. But much of the domestic rhetoric and policy directed at blacks presupposes, and by presupposing teaches, dependency. Today's inspiriting pictures of blacks making prominent contributions to the competence of the military are, I suspect, disagreeable to those who espouse victimology.

Every black in uniform is a volunteer, which complicates the portrayal of them as victims. But Hooks, head of the NAACP, and others like him say blacks volunteer "because this nation can't provide them jobs." Never mind that military service is a dignified job. The innuendo is that blacks are impelled not at all by the spur of patriotism but only by the lash of necessity. An implication is that most blacks in the services come from the underclass.

Actually, whereas white volunteers are on average poorer and less educated than whites generally, most black volunteers have at least a high school diploma and come from working- and middle-class families. Getting into today's military—the highest caliber in American history—is harder than graduating from many high schools. Indeed, 95 percent of all Army personnel have high school diplomas, compared with 76.5 percent of the population.

Controversy about the alleged "overrepresentation" of blacks in the military comes hard on the heels of the successes of the movie "Glory" and the PBS series on the Civil War. About 188,000 Union warriors—twice as many men as Lee had at Gettysburg—were black. The 166 black regiments were more than 8 percent of the Union forces. Blacks had something to prove. A Confederate general said: "You cannot make soldiers of slaves ... And if slaves seem good soldiers, then our whole theory of slavery is wrong." Most black soldiers had been slaves until a few months, even days, before enlisting. Frederick Douglass said: "Once let the black man get ... a musket on his shoulder and bullets in his pocket, and there is no power on earth which can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship."

Interracial harmony: In 1991 the only things blacks have to earn or prove in the military are what whites have to earn or prove. They are earning their pay and proving their worth—and patriotism—as individual professionals. Enough, already, of the groupthink of people who see everything through the distorting lens of race. That monomania is a civilian luxury. Military men and women are too busy making the military a model for interracial harmony, not perfect but worthy of emulation by civilians.

Just a few decades ago blacks joked that baseball was the only field in which a black man could wave a wooden club at a white man and not start a riot. Today's military is a place where blacks regularly tell a large number of whites what to do. One of the telling facets of military life is so familiar it is never thought about: uniforms. Individuality is not extinguished but people are fitted to functions. It was, after all, a soldier (Napoleon) who characterized the good society as one of "careers open to talents."

Just last year, when it seemed that peace was busting out all over faster than you could say "peace dividend," there were those who worried that the shrinking of the military would victimize blacks by shutting off careers open to their talents—careers that teach talents, too. Why is there a black chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff before there has been a black chairman of GE, GM, IBM or any of the other Fortune 500 corporations (all of which are pygmies compared to what Colin Powell chairs)? There are many reasons but one may be that today's military is a more severe meritocracy than most corporations.

Military life aspires to resemble professional sports in one particular—concentration on performance. At the tip-off of next weekend's NBA All-Star game there will be at least eight blacks on the court. Too many? That is a dumb question to those who understand basketball and an ugly question to those who understand America.

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